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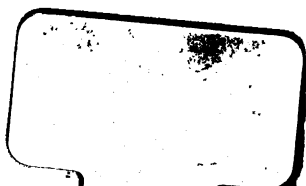
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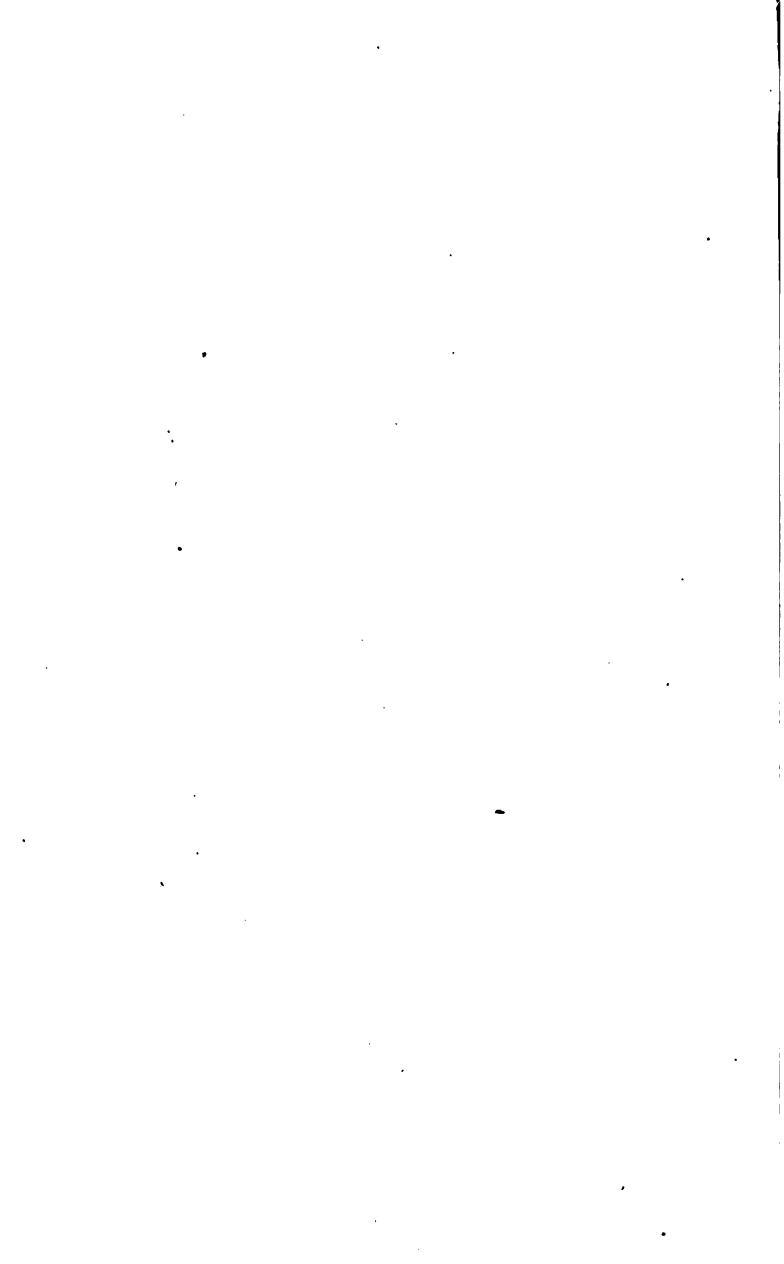
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VINDICATION OF THE COVENANTERS.



VINDICATION
OF
THE COVENANTERS;
IN A REVIEW OF THE
"TALES OF MY LANDLORD."

BY THE LATE
THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.,
AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF KNOX, ETC.

FOURTH EDITION.



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PREFACE.

THE following Vindication appeared originally in the form of a Review of the Tales of my Landlord, in the Christian Instructor, and extended through three successive numbers of that excellent magazine, in January, February, and March 1817. It was written by Dr M'Crie, at the earnest solicitation of his friend, the celebrated Dr Andrew Thomson, who was the editor of that periodical. The authorship of the review was immediately discovered, not only from the tone of its sentiments, but from the minute acquaintance with the history of the period, and the scrupulous fidelity in authenticating every statement of facts, by which it was characterized, in common with the other works of Dr M'Crie. The review produced, at the time of its appear-

ance, a deep and widely-spread impression on the public. All classes were interested in the issue of a contest between characters so widely different as those of the author of *Waverley* and the biographer of John Knox. Novel readers were amazed to find their favourite and idolized author gravely called to account in the pages of a religious magazine, for violation of historical truth, and calumnies against persecuted worth. The more serious class of readers, many of whom would never have thought of reading the *Tales* at all, had they not been thus introduced to their notice, were much shocked by discovering the injustice which had been done to the memory of our covenanting fathers; and some of them are known to have been so thoroughly disgusted at the exposure of the misrepresentations of the novelist, that they never read another of his productions. Sir Walter Scott himself appears to have been inclined at first to have treated the matter with contempt, and expressed his resolution never to read the papers in the *Instructor*; but we are informed by Mr Lockhart, that "he found the impression they were producing so

strong, that he soon changed his purpose, and finally devoted a very large part of his article for the Quarterly Review to an elaborate defence of his own picture of the Covenanters."

It is needless to say, that the charges brought in this Review against the author of the Tales, are too well authenticated to be denied by candour, or softened down by ingenuity. The two pictures are now before the public, and it remains for them to decide, not which is the most faithful, but whether they are most disposed to admire the portrait, or to amuse themselves with the caricature.

It is hoped, that the present edition, which has been faithfully reprinted from the pages of the Instructor, will, from its accessible form, find a circulation much wider than the review has yet acquired. It is valuable, not merely as a vindication of our fathers from the ingenious misrepresentations of the author of the Tales, but as a piece of interesting and authentic history. And certainly at no period could such a publication be more opportune or more urgently required, than at present, as an antidote to those prejudices

which the works of Sir Walter Scott have done so much to revive, and which are so eagerly improved to promote the interests of superstition within the church, and of irreligion in the world.

EDINBURGH, June 1845.

VINDICATION OF THE COVENANTERS.

SECTION I.

Introduction—The Waverley Novels—Tales of my Landlord—Outline of the story of Old Mortality—Historical Character of the Novel—Danger of encroachments of Fiction on the province of History—Historical Blunders of the Novelist—Wappinshaws—English Liturgy unknown in Scotland—Inconsistencies in the Novel—Its Beauties—Its Faults—Its Silence as to the Oppressions of the Covenanters—Sketch of the Persecution—Apology for the Persecuted—The Novelist's Misrepresentations of their Sufferings—His partiality to their Persecutors—True Character of Graham of Claverhouse—Massacre of John Brown and Andrew Hislop—Claverhouse whitewashed and flattered in the Novel—Attempts to extenuate his Cruelties.

OF all the classes of readers in this book-reading age and country, there is none more numerous, or less difficult to please, than the readers of novels. This is a very fortunate circumstance for book-makers and book-venders, or, as they may now-a-days be more properly termed,

the wholesale and retail dealers in books; as it affords them an expeditious and lucrative trade, which they can carry on at small expense, and which remains steady and open, even when the market stagnates and is overstocked, for want of demand in the other articles of literature. The great object of habitual readers of novels is to kill time, and they are not very scrupulous as to the means which they employ to rid themselves of this troublesome companion. Their minds are vacant; and nature abhors a vacuum. There is nothing which they dread more than being left to serious reflection, or thrown upon their own internal resources. Their feelings, though often morbid, and requiring force to excite them, are not delicate, nor is their taste fastidious. The task of those whose employment it is to afford them amusement is not, therefore, one of very great difficulty. It requires no superior powers of invention, or of wit, to dress up a story which will gratify readers of this stamp, and raise the wished-for alternations of emotion in the giddy breasts, or perhaps brains,

“———of the unthinking rabble,
Giggling, sobbing, at each frantic fable.”

But the strongest and the most quick-set appetite will be palled by indulgence, and will require to be whetted and humoured by nicer food or nicer preparation. This was the origin of the art and philosophy of cookery, and a similar cause has led to the improvement of that branch of the art of writing to which we refer. When we say this, we would not be understood as meaning to insinuate, that all those fictitious works which rise above

mediocrity have originated from such inferior motives. We do not consider Count Rumford as occupying the same rank with ordinary writers on the culinary art, and we do not wish to confound sober reformers with demagogues who would debauch the minds, and inflame the passions, of the mob, to gain their own selfish and unprincipled ends. We are willing to allow that there are individuals who commence novel-writers with the more generous and disinterested design of reforming the public taste, and of furnishing more rational and refined gratification to a numerous class of readers. To such writers we are ready to give all the praise which is due. And, indeed, when we consider the mass of insipid, stupid, and pernicious productions with which our circulating libraries are stuffed, and which are daily tossed from hand to hand until they are literally worn to tatters, we cannot but think that a man of genius and taste, who condescends to join such company, displays at once a great degree of courage and of self-denial, and we are not greatly surprised to find him choosing to send the offspring of his fancy into the world without his name, or under a false one, contented with enjoying his reputation, and the other fruits of his labour, *incognito*, and concealing himself from the public by means of a complicated piece of literary machinery.

Most of our readers must have heard of, and not a few of them, it is probable, have read, those popular novels which lately appeared in this northern part of the island, and which, from the peculiar manners which they represented, and the ability of their execution, attracted the attention even of those who have no predilection

for this species of composition. The earliest of these* cannot be called a finished piece of writing. The principal character in it wants those great qualities which are essential to a hero; his conduct justly subjects him to the suspicion of cowardice; and he becomes a deserter and a rebel, without the excuse of being actuated by principle and conviction;—a piece of management on the part of the author, which can only be accounted for on the supposition, that he was not unwilling that the chief honour should be transferred to another individual, whom, even in these times, it would not have been prudent or becoming to have proclaimed as the hero of his story. Yet, in spite of these and other faults, by his picturesque descriptions of Highland scenery, by his striking, though sometimes exaggerated delineations of Highland manners, and, above all, by skilfully combining his fabulous narrative with the interesting history of the rebellion, and the fates of the adventurous and unfortunate Chevalier, the author has given an interest to the work which cannot fail to make it be read with pleasure, long after the charm produced by the novelty of its appearance has ceased. Next appeared *The Astrologer*,† disdaining to derive aid from any adventitious association with real history, and scarcely deigning to symbolize with the speech and manners of common life. Trusting to the preternatural powers with which she was endowed, this heroine came forth with more

* ["Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since," which appeared in July 1814.]

† ["Guy Mannering; or, The Astrologer," was published in February 1815.]

than Amazonian courage, and by the waving of her magic wand, and the unearthly sounds which accompanied it, enchanted and subdued all that came within the reach of her potent and irresistible spell. In truth, the picture of that singular, and now nearly extinct, race of beings, the gipsies, is inimitably drawn, and their character throughout the piece is supported with the utmost propriety and consistency. We do not therefore wonder at the popularity of *Guy Mannering* in Scotland, where the language in which a great part of the work is written, and the manners it describes, are known; but we must confess, that we are somewhat at a loss to account for the fact, of which we have been assured, that it is equally popular in England, where we are persuaded not one word in three is understood by the generality of readers,* and where we should think the entertainment derived from the story must have been in no small degree marred, by the continual exercise of turning over the two quarto volumes of Dr Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, or, when these were not to be had, the glossary to Allan Ramsay or Robert Burns' *Poems*. Lastly appeared *The Antiquary*.† The popularity acquired by its predecessors was sufficient to put this work in motion; but it became stationary as soon as the impulse which they imparted to it was spent. Whether it is that the author, having exhausted his powers by the last effort, had not allowed them sufficient time to recruit; or whether, from certain leanings

* ["A dark dialogue of Anglified Erse."—Quarterly Review of *Guy Mannering*.]

† [Early in May 1816.]

in his own mind, he was unwilling to make the Antiquary truly ridiculous; or whether (which we are rather inclined to think is the truth) antiquaries are a race of beings to whom the public are so completely indifferent, that it is impossible to interest them in a story that turns chiefly upon them and their pursuits; the fact is certain, that, notwithstanding all the humour of Edie Ochiltree, (and it is not small), and notwithstanding the excellence of particular scenes, the story was deemed tame and fatiguing; and the chief thing that will now induce any to read it, (those who live on novels always excepted), is the information on the title-page, that it was written by the author of *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering*.

We have chosen to introduce ourselves in this way to *Tales of My Landlord*, because we are convinced that they are written by the author of the works which we have just noticed. For what reason this information has been withheld, it is unnecessary to inquire. Perhaps it was on account of the fact stated above; perhaps the author intended to pay a compliment to the reigning passion for novelty; perhaps he wished merely to gratify his own humour. Our opinion as to the point of identity of original, is founded on internal evidence. The resemblance is strongly marked, both on the general features and in the minuter lines. We can trace it in that wonderful talent for description which the author almost uniformly displays, whether he wishes to paint human beings or natural scenery—the sublimity of a battle, or the brawlings of a tap-room—the movements of a hero, or the fooleries of a clown. We can trace it

in the different kinds of character which he brings forward for exhibition, and in the partiality with which he selects, for his more careful and minute delineation, such as are to be found in low life. We can trace it in those marks of haste and carelessness which are every now and then reminding us, that he either will not, or cannot, take time to do justice to his own powers, and that he writes without having in his mind's eye that prospective arrangement which is necessary to prevent his story from having, in some parts, an unfinished aspect, and from presenting us, in others, with very awkward attempts to obviate the difficulties that his want of foresight has occasioned. And, finally, we can trace it in the uncommon ease, and the purity, if we may use the expression, with which the Scottish language is written—a quality in which the author has no compeer among those who have made the same attempt, and which resembles, to compare small things with great, the facility and correctness with which the learned in the sixteenth century wrote in the ancient language of Rome.

In the work before us, we are presented with two tales. The one is comprised in the first volume; the other occupies the remaining three volumes. The first tale* will, we doubt not, be interesting to those who are admirers of the local habits and opinions which are said to have existed a century ago in that district of the Scottish borders where the scene is laid, and which are chiefly known to the public by means of the writings of Walter Scott. From the natu-

* [The Black Dwarf.]

ral and easy manner in which he describes these, the author appears to be a native of that place, or one who, from his infancy, has been accustomed to the relation of its traditionary history. With respect to the story, we cannot say much. The author himself seems to have been anxious to have done with it, and huddles it up at last in rather a careless manner; and we may be pardoned for following his example. Hobbie Elliot is a well drawn character. Earnscliff, like most of the author's principal characters, does not do much to give us a high opinion of him, although he says many good things. Of the Black Dwarf, (whom some have taken for the hero of the tale), we shall say nothing—only we do not think him a more unnatural character than Ellieslaw; nor do any of the misanthropic ravings of the former appear to us so incredible as the epistle which the latter is made to address to his daughter after the detection of his plots. The attempt to give interest to the story by connecting it with the rebellion in 1715, fails as completely as the rebellion itself did, and serves only to embarrass the author. The undisguised manner in which the conspirators talk of their projected insurrection in the presence of Ratcliffe, even before they had formally resolved on it, and when they were aware that the better and greater part of the population around them was friendly to the government, represents them as greater madmen than we imagine the borderers ever were. After this, the laboured description of the revulsion of spirits felt by them when they came to the decisive step, although it would have been striking in other circumstances, has something affected in it. At

all events, when they had taken the leap, it is quite inexcusable to make a fool of such a respectable and sensible man as Ratcliffe appears to have been, by supposing that he would make a grave and serious speech, with the view of recalling such men to their allegiance, unless the author wished to exhibit him as so puritanical in his principles, as to make the affair a matter of conscience, and to think it a duty to give his testimony against such courses ; in which case (if our ideas of the character of the borderers, especially when they were heated with wine, are not very incorrect) these gentlemen would have sent him, as Lauderdale did his predecessors, to make his dying speech and testimony on the nearest gallows. In short, the Black Dwarf bears sufficient marks of being a child of the same family with the Astrologer ; but, whether received before his birth or after it, he has had the misfortune to meet with some great injury, and is a dwarf.—We now go on to the second tale, or rather history, as it should be called, which, from the nature of its contents, as well as its size, demands more ample and serious consideration than the preceding one could claim.

On opening the second volume, and while we hesitated in turning the first leaf, we could not but feel surprised, that the author should have permitted himself to allow either the publisher or the printer to do any thing in such bad taste as to repeat the foolish lines, which must have been foisted, without his knowledge, into the title-page of the first volume, and also the quotation on the reverse, in Spanish and English. Having ventured to turn the leaf, we were most agreeably disappointed at

who traversed the country to apprehend such as were obnoxious to government. Although extremely reluctant to comply with it, Morton could not deny this request to one who had formerly been the intimate friend and companion in arms of his father, and he lodged him in an out-house. A few days after, a party of soldiers paid a visit to the place, and Morton having acknowledged, rather sillily, what he had done, was made prisoner, and carried to the castle of Tillietudlem, the residence of Miss Edith Bellenden, where Colonel Grahame of Claverhouse was expected next day with his regiment. Claverhouse, after being made acquainted with the circumstances, was about to order the prisoner to be instantly shot, but finally yielded to spare his life at the intercession of Lord Evandale, whose interest Miss Bellenden had bespoken in his favour. Morton was present as a prisoner at the battle of Drumclog or Loudon hill, where Claverhouse was defeated. Having obtained his liberty, resentment for recent injuries roused his patriotism, (this is not the author's phrase), he joined the victorious Covenanters, was chosen one of their officers, and admitted to their council of war. He now exerted himself in organizing their army, and in accommodating the differences between the rigid and moderate Presbyterians. In this he was far from being successful; yet he prevailed, before the battle of Bothwell Bridge, in obtaining the consent of the majority of the council to a moderate proposal, which he presented to the Duke of Monmouth, the commander of the king's forces, at a personal interview which he obtained with his Grace, in the presence of General Dalziel and Colonel Grahame.

Having escaped after the defeat of the Presbyterians at Bothwell, and sought refuge for the night in a farmhouse, Morton found himself surrounded with a number of his late companions in arms, when (strange to tell!) instead of receiving him kindly, they resolved to *put him to death*, as a sacrifice to avert the wrath of Heaven, and in revenge for his having thwarted their more violent measures. When this horrid determination is upon the very point of being carried into execution, Claverhouse bursts into the house, and rescues the devoted victim. The risk which he had run from the fanatics, and the report of several acts of generosity which he had performed to the royalists, now secure to Morton the powerful patronage of Claverhouse, who conveys him to Edinburgh, and procures his pardon from the Privy Council, with liberty for him to retire beyond seas. Having arrived in Holland, he is admitted to a private interview with the Prince of Orange, who appoints him to a command in a remote garrison. Some years after the Revolution, he returns to Scotland, and finds the Bellenden family excluded from their property, and Miss Edith on the eve of her marriage to Lord Evandale. He pays a visit to the house of his uncle, who is now dead, and has an interview in a cave with Burley, who is made to be still alive, and whose fanaticism is represented as having issued in the most furious and confirmed derangement. By the time that he returned from these excursions, the author has arranged a plan for removing the impediment that prevented Morton's union with Edith Bellenden, and, accordingly, Lord Evandale is removed out of the way by one of those vio-

lent *coups de main*, which writers of novels so frequently employ, when they grow weary of their subject, or when they have involved it inadvertently in difficulties, from which they are unable to extricate it with dexterity.

This general outline is at least sufficient to characterise the class to which the tale belongs. It is by no means a story purely fictitious, but is of a mixed kind, and embraces the principal facts in the real history of this country during a very important period. The author has not merely availed himself incidentally of these facts; but they form the ground-work, and furnish the principal materials of his story. He has not taken occasion to make transient allusions to the characters and manners of the age; but it is the main and avowed object of his work to illustrate these, and to give a genuine and correct picture of the principles and conduct of the two parties into which Scotland was at that time divided. The person who undertakes such a work, subjects himself to laws far more strict than those which bind the ordinary class of fictitious writers. It is not enough that he keep within the bounds of probability,—he must conform to historic truth. If he introduces real characters, they must feel, and speak, and act, as they are described to have done in the faithful page of history, and the author is not at liberty to mould them as he pleases, to make them more interesting, and to give greater effect to his story. The same regard to the truth of history must be observed when fictitious personages are introduced, provided the reader is taught or induced to form a judgment from them of the parties to which they are represented as belonging. If it is per-

mitted to make embellishments on the scene, with the view of giving greater interest to the piece, the utmost care ought to be taken that they do not violate the integrity of character; and they must be impartially distributed, and equally extended to all parties, and to the virtues and vices of each. This is a delicate task, but the undertaker imposes it upon himself, with all its responsibilities. Besides fidelity, impartiality, and judgment, it requires an extensive, and minute, and accurate acquaintance with the history of the period selected, including the history of opinions and habits, as well as of events. And we do not hesitate to say, that this is a species of intelligence which is not likely to be possessed by the person who holds in sovereign contempt the opinions which were then deemed of the utmost moment, and turns with disgust from the very exterior manners of the men whose inmost habits he affects to disclose. Nor will the multifarious reading of the dabbler in every thing, from the highest affairs of church and state, down to the economy of the kitchen, and the management of the stable, keep him from blundering here at every step.

Such, in our opinion, are the laws of the kind of writing under consideration; and we are not aware that their justice will be disputed, or that our statement of them is open to objection. The work before us we consider as chargeable with offences against these laws, which are neither few nor slight.

The guides of public opinion cannot be too jealous in guarding against the encroachments of the writers of fiction upon the province of true history, nor too faith-

ful in pointing out every transgression, however small it may appear, of the sacred fences by which it is protected. Such writers have it in their power to do much mischief, from the engaging form in which they convey their sentiments to a numerous, and, in general, unsuspecting class of readers. When the scene is laid in a remote and fabulous period, or when the merits and conduct of the men who are made to figure in it, do not affect the great cause of truth and of public good, the writer may be allowed to exercise his ingenuity, and to amuse his readers, without our narrowly enquiring whether his representations are historically correct or not. But when he speaks of those men who were engaged in the great struggle for national and individual rights, civil and religious, which took place in this country previous to the Revolution, and of all the cruelties of the oppressors, and all the sufferings of the oppressed, he is not to be tolerated in giving a false and distorted view of men and measures, whether this proceed from ignorance or from prejudice. Nor should his misrepresentations be allowed to pass without severe reprehension, when their native tendency is to shade the atrocities of persecution, to diminish the horror with which the conduct of a tyrannical and unprincipled government has been so long and so justly regarded, and to traduce and vilify the characters of those men, who, while they were made to feel all the weight of its severity, continued to resist until they succeeded in emancipating themselves, and securing their posterity, from the galling yoke. On this supposition, it is not sufficient to atone for such faults, that the work in which they are found displays

great talents; that it contains scenes which are described with exquisite propriety and truth; that the leading facts in the history of those times are brought forward; that the author has condemned the severities of the government; that he is often in a mirthful and facetious mood; and that some allowances must be made for a desire to amuse his readers, and to impart greater interest to a story which, after all, is for the most part fictitious. With every disposition to make all reasonable allowances, we are constrained to set aside such apologies. It is not upon sentiments transiently expressed, but upon the impression which the whole piece is calculated to make, that our judgment must be formed. We cannot agree to sacrifice the interests of truth, either to the humour of an author, or to the amusement of his readers. We respect talents as much as any can do, and can admire them even when we are obliged to reprobate the bad purposes to which they are applied; but we must not suffer our imaginations to be dazzled by the splendour of talent; we cannot consent to be tricked and laughed out of our principles; nor will we passively allow men who deserve other treatment, and to whose firmness and intrepidity we are indebted for the transmission of so many blessings, to be run down and abused with profane wit, or low buffoonery.

Before proceeding to a particular examination of the characters which the author gives of the two parties, we beg leave to mention one or two instances, which go to show that he is not to be trusted as to the accuracy of the statements upon which his judgments are pronounced. Lest we should be suspected of having hunted for

these, we shall take them from the first two paragraphs of his story. One charge which he frequently brings against the strict Presbyterians, is that of a morose and gloomy bigotry, displayed by their censuring of all innocent recreations. This he endeavours to impress on the imagination of his reader in the very first scene, by representing them as refusing, from such scruples, to attend the wappin-shaws appointed by government. "The rigour of the strict Calvinists," says he, "increased in proportion to the wishes of the government that it should be relaxed. A supercilious condemnation of *all* manly pastimes and harmless recreations distinguished those who professed a more than ordinary share of sanctity." Now, with respect to all that kind of information which the antiquary possesses, we will most cheerfully acknowledge the superiority of our author; and we can assure him, that we listened to him with "judaical" credulity, and with as devout gravity as any of his readers could listen to the sermons of the zealous Mause, or of Habakkuk Mucklewraith,—while he described, to our great edification, the popinjay or parrot, being the figure of a bird so called, with party-coloured feathers, suspended on a pole, or mast, having a yard extended across it, as a mark, at which the competitors discharged their fusees and carabines, with the precise number of paces at which they stood from the mark, the exact number of rounds which they fired, and the identical manner in which the order of their rotation was settled. Also the ducal carriage, being an enormous leathern vehicle, like to Noah's ark, or at least the vulgar picture of it; the eight Flanders mares, with their long tails, by

which it was dragged; the eight insides, with their designations and rank, and the places which they occupied on the lateral recess, or the projection at the door, or the boot, and on the opposite ensconce; and the six outsides, being six lacqueys, armed up to the teeth, who stood, or rather hung, in triple file, on the foot-board, and eke, besides a coachman, three postilions, (the author has omitted to mention on which lateral horse they sat, or stood, or hung,) with their short swords, and tie wigs with three tails, and blunderbusses and pistols. Truly, if the rigid features of the Puritans did not relax into something of a more gentle aspect than "a sort of malignant and sarcastic sneer," at the sight of this moving mansion-house, we must grant that they were as morose and gloomy as the author represents them to have been. With respect to all information of this kind, which the author takes every opportunity of imparting to his readers, with infinite particularity, and with such evident self-satisfaction, as to banish the suspicion, that he intended to set the rhapsodical jargon of modern writers over against that of the old whigs, or to show, that, though the cant of hypocrisy is the worst, the cant of antiquarianism is the most childish and tormenting;—of the accuracy, we say, of all such information, we never presumed to hesitate for a moment: we are satisfied, upon his testimony, that in the seventeenth century it was customary for gentlemen of property to sit at the same table with the lowest of their menial servants, though we did not before know that this mode of promiscuous feasting ascended higher in the grade of society than the families of farmers; and we now believe, upon

the same authority, though it cost us, we confess, some pains to swallow it, that clocks or time-pieces were then a common article of furniture in a moorland farm-house. But we must acknowledge that we are not disposed to pay the same deference to the author's opinion, in what relates to the religious sentiments and moral habits of those times; we presume to think, that we understand these fully as well as he does; and with regard to the scruple which he imputes to the Presbyterians respecting the lawfulness of assemblies for a show of arms, military exercises, and manly pastimes, whether he received his information from pedlars, weavers, and tailors, or from the descendants of honourable families, right reverend non-juring bishops, lairds, or their hereditary game-keepers, we can assure him, that they have imposed on his credulity and good-nature, (which, if he had had his usual wits about him, he might have suspected from "the shrug of the shoulder," with which they could not help accompanying it), much in the same way that the "travelling packman" imposed upon Oldbuck the antiquary about "the bodle." The fact is, that from the Reformation, down to the period in which the scene of this tale is laid, such exercises and pastimes were quite common throughout Scotland; children were carefully trained to them when at school; professors in universities attended and joined in them, as well as their students; and the Presbyterian ministers, having practised them at school and at college, instead of condemning them as unlawful, did not scruple to countenance them with their presence. There were some of these precise preachers, for whom, we suspect, our author (with all his

intimate knowledge of such sports) might not have been quite a match in shooting at the popinjay; and in playing with them at the rapier or small sword, or in wrestling a fall, we are afraid he might have come off as badly as Sergeant Bothwell did from the brawny arms of John Balfour of Burley.

If he had not been eager to fix a stigma upon the Covenanters, he could not have been at a loss to account fully for their absence from the wappinshaws, without having recourse to this religious scruple. In the first place, the troops then kept up by the government in a time of peace were intended to harass the Covenanters, and were wholly employed in discovering and dispersing their conventicles. As one great design of the reviews was to allure young men to enter into this army, we need not wonder that the Covenanters refrained from them, and inculcated this upon all who were under their influence. They refused to enlist, and they refused or scrupled to pay the cess which was appropriated to the support of troops raised for the express purpose of suppressing their religious assemblies. The author, according to his mode of writing and reasoning, should therefore have represented them as of the principle of those fanatics who denied the lawfulness of bearing arms, and of paying taxes for the common purposes of government. If it were necessary to assign any other reason, we might add, that the Presbyterians had a religious scruple, but one of a very different complexion from that which is assumed by our author. These reviews, with their attendant sports, were then ordinarily held on Sabbath

days. "Under the reign of the last Stuarts," to avail ourselves in part of the language of our author in the pretty exordium with which he opens his tale, "there was an anxious wish on the part of government to counteract, by every means in their power, the strict or puritanical spirit." For this purpose, "frequent musters and assemblies of the people, both for military exercise, and for sports and pastimes, were appointed by authority" to be held on the Sabbath. This did not commence after "the republican government." It was the English Solomon who, in his wisdom, first discovered this project for promoting the happiness of his good subjects. It was revived and pressed with greater zeal in the reign of his son, the pious martyr, Charles I., and again resorted to by his most sacred and immaculate majesty, Charles II. To have stated this circumstance broadly, would have tended to weaken the impression which the author wished to make on the minds of his readers, as to the moroseness and rigidity of the Presbyterians; and therefore he keeps it back, or rather dexterously veils it. That he was aware of the fact is evident, not only from his charging the Covenanters, in this place, with "a judaical observance of the Sabbath," but also from his telling us, that, if present, they could not avoid "listening to the prayers read in the churches on these occasions."

With what indignation must he have read a late proclamation of the magistrates of this city, enforcing "a judaical observance of the Sabbath!" With what horror must he have viewed the hydra form of Puritanism,

which was cut down at Bothwell Bridge in 1679, rearing its deformed head in 1816, and stalking the streets of the capital of Scotland in the shape of its Lord Provost and magistrates! And, after this, how soothing to his perturbed spirits must have been the spectacle exhibited, so recently and so opportunely, on a Sunday, in one of the most public streets of the same city!* If he was in the place, and not taking to himself a little innocent pastime in the country, our author doubtless must have been present on that occasion, dancing for joy promiscuously with the rabble assembled, and tripping it to the sound of "the pipe and tabor, or the bagpipe." His good friend, the memorialist of Lord Viscount Dundee, tells us, that his politic, as well as valorous hero, found that "his dragoons were the only medicines to be applied to their distempers," meaning the old fanatics; and there was no doubt something peculiarly pleasing in the resemblance (all danger being completely out of the question) between this and the recent incident. This is not the first time that Scotland has been indebted to her faithful and old ally, Russia, for assistance against a gloomy and unsocial fanaticism. General Dalziel was formerly brought from the wilds of Muscovy, as a falcon of the true breed, and trained on the proper ground, to hunt down the flying Puritans, and to drive these impure and loathsome bats into their native dens and caves. And why should not our gallant officers

* [Referring to a military review on Sabbath, 22d December 1816, before the Grand Duke Nicholas, in Princes Street, Edinburgh.]

have taken advantage of the presence of a Russian duke, to revive the Sunday wappinshaws of former days, to teach our magistrates good manners, and to convince them that gentlemen in red coats are not bound to be subject to those rigid and puritanical restrictions which may be imposed on the vulgar?—We do not know what our author means, and we are not sure that he has himself any distinct idea of what is meant by a judaical observance of the Sabbath. We know of no peculiar strictness on this head exacted by our Presbyterian forefathers above what is practised by the sober and religious part of the inhabitants of Scotland to this day. And whatever he may be pleased to think of it, there are many of as enlightened minds, and of as liberal principles as he can pretend to, who glory in this national distinction; and one reason why we will not suffer our ancestors to be misrepresented by him, or by any other writer of the present times, is the gratitude which we feel to them, for having transmitted to their posterity a hereditary and deep veneration for the Lord's Day.

The second instance which goes to prove that the author's statements respecting the religious sentiments and customs of that period are not to be depended upon, relates to the use of the Book of Common Prayer. "The young men at arms," says he, "were unable to avoid *listening to the prayers read in the churches on these occasions*, and thus, in the opinion of their repining parents, meddling with the accursed thing which is an abomination in the sight of the Lord." Now, though the author had not stood in awe of that "dreadful

name," which all Christians are taught to venerate, nor been afraid of the threatening, "The Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in name," we should have thought that he would have at least been careful to save himself from ridicule, by ascertaining the truth of the fact which he assumes as the foundation of his irreverent jest. How then does the fact stand? Prayers were not *read* in the parish churches of Scotland at that time, any more than they were in the meeting-houses of the indulged, or in the conventicles of the stricter Presbyterians. The author has taken it for granted, that the prayer-book was introduced into Scotland along with Episcopal government at the Restoration. We are astonished that any one who professes to be acquainted with the history of that period, and especially one who undertakes to describe its religious manners, should take up this erroneous notion. The English Book of Common Prayer was never introduced into Scotland, and previous to 1637 was used only in the Chapel-royal, and perhaps occasionally in one or two other places, to please the king. The history of the short-lived Scottish Prayer Book is well known. At the Restoration neither the one nor the other was imposed, but the public worship was left to be conducted as it had been practised in the Presbyterian church. Charles II. was not so fond of prayers, whether read or extempore, as to interest himself in that matter; his maxim was, that Presbyterianism was not fit for a gentleman; his dissipated and irreligious courtiers were of the same opinion; and therefore Episcopacy was established. As for the aspiring churchmen who furthered and pressed the change,

they were satisfied with seating themselves in their rich bishoprics. Accordingly, the author will not find the Presbyterians "repining" at this imposition; and had he examined their writings, as he ought to have done, he would have found them repeatedly admitting that they had no such grievance. But surely, (we hear some of our readers, who have perused *Old Mortality* exclaim), surely, the Prayer Book must have been read in the churches in those times. The old steward of Tillietudlem is as familiar with the *commination*, as the most conscientious curate in England could be; and the butler is as well acquainted with the *Litany*, as if he had heard it every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, (Vol. ii. pp. 40, 267). Cuddy Headrigg, too, very wittily observes, that this, in his opinion, formed the only difference between the Episcopalian service and that of their opponents; (Saame volume, seivint chapter, hunder an' fifty saxt page). Honest Major Bellenden also vouches for the fact, and introduces it when he was very much in earnest to procure the life of Henry Morton. "He is a lad of as good church principles as any gentleman in the life-guards. He has gone to church-service with me fifty times, and I never heard him miss one of the responses in my life. Edith Bellenden can bear witness to it as well as I. He always read on the same prayer-book with her, and could look out the lessons as well as the curate himself." (See the saame second volume, twalfth chapter, and there the three hunder-thrid and three hunder-fourth pages). Nay, to confirm the truth of the fact, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, Morton was so habituated to the use of the liturgy, that, in

a situation of great distraction, "he had instinctively recourse to the petition for deliverance and for compo-
sure of spirit, which is to be found in the Book of Com-
mon Prayer of the Church of England;" a circumstance
which so enraged his murderers, that they determined
to precipitate his fate. (Volume the fourth, auchty-
third and auchty-fourth pages).

There is one fault in the work, which all who have
carefully read it must have observed. For the sake of
giving effect to a particular scene, the author does not
hesitate to violate historic truth and probability, and
even to contradict his own statements or admissions.
Instances of this occur in some of his best descriptions,
and they show, that though he has the imagination and
feeling of a poet, he is deficient in the judgment and dis-
criminating taste of a historian. For example, at the
wappinshaw, with which the story is introduced, he
makes the whigs to shout repeatedly at Morton's suc-
cess, and to cry, "The good old cause for ever!" although
every one acquainted with the state of matters at that
time, must be persuaded, that this would have been a
signal for the soldiers to disperse the crowd, and perhaps
to shoot some of the offenders instantly on the spot. No
part of the character of Burley will remove the gross
improbability, that a man in his circumstances would
have engaged in a personal conflict with a soldier in an
inn, which, in all likelihood, must have issued in his
imprisonment, and consequently in his detection. We
mention these instances because, as related by the au-
thor, they do not convey any degrading reflection on the
character of the Covenanters, but so far as they go, ex-

hibit them in a favourable light; and therefore we cannot be suspected of partiality in pointing them out as blemishes. Mause is a favourite character with the author, and out of her mouth he intended to pour the greatest quantity of his ridicule upon the Covenanters. Here, then, we might have expected consistency. But how does the case stand? Mause was an old professor of religion, and also an old residenter on the estate of Tillietudlem. She had long attended conventicles, but she had conducted herself quietly, and prudently, and inoffensively; for had she done otherwise, the zealous lady Margaret Bellenden, who was accustomed to visit her, and to gossip with her for half an hour at a time, must have long before discovered her principles and character. But no sooner does she fall under the management of our author, than she becomes all at once frenzied, and having lost *the command of herself*, and being wholly possessed by the fanatical spirit of the tale, she not only incurs the wrath of the old lady with whom she had been "a sort of favourite," but by her wild and incontrollable raving, expels herself and son from every harbour, and exposes all who were so unfortunate as to receive her, to the greatest distress and peril. What must we infer from this incongruous and conflicting representation? That the conduct of the discreet Mause, previous to "the 5th of May 1679, when our narrative commences," exhibits the genuine picture of the Presbyterian character, as it existed at that period, and that the description of her mad behaviour after that period, is the distorted caricature of the same class of persons as now presented in *Old Mortality*?

*Nec melius natura queat variasse colores :
En tibi vera rosa est, en tibi ficta rosa !*

But as we are not yet to part with our author, and would wish to keep on the best terms possible with him, so long as we must be together, we shall suspend the discussion of the points on which we are under the necessity of differing from him, for the sake of performing the more pleasant duty of pointing out some of his beauties. These are numerous ; and all the blemishes which we have noticed, and may yet find ourselves obliged to notice, could not prevent us from observing and admiring them. It is true, that when great talents are abused ; when they are exerted to confound the distinctions between virtue and vice, to varnish over oppression and injustice, and to throw ridicule upon those who resist these scourges of society, they ought not to screen the possessor from condemnation and censure. He is doubly criminal ; he sins in patronising a bad cause ; and he sins in prostituting to its support those talents which, by the very law of his nature, he was bound to use for an opposite purpose. Still we cannot be blind to their existence ; nor would we wish to overlook one instance in which they are legitimately and laudably employed. That the general tendency of the work under consideration is unfavourable to the interests of religion and political freedom, is our decided judgment. But we at the same time cheerfully acknowledge, that in stating his own sentiments, the author has distinctly condemned persecution, tyranny, and military oppression ; and although he has laboured to expose that party who were

most distinguished for religion and correctness of manners, and among whom, indeed, these virtues were then almost exclusively to be found; yet we are unwilling, simply on that account, to consider him as an enemy to religion, or a champion of profaneness. But whatever the moral and religious character of the work be, its literary merits are unquestionably high. The author always views nature with the eye of a poet, and his descriptions of it are uniformly vivid, strong, and picturesque. His dialogue is easy, animated, and characteristical, and is often enlivened with strokes of genuine humour, and flashes of true wit. We cannot say, that we find those profound views of human nature, and those nicer dissections of the human heart, which appear in the characters of the masters of fictitious writing who flourished during last century. They had studied mankind with the eye of a philosopher; their object was to delineate men and manners as they occurred in ordinary life; and their chief art was exerted in inventing scenes in which these might be fully unfolded, and in forming them into one piece of historical painting, in which variety was combined with unity, and the deepest interest imparted to the subject, without the smallest violation of the limits of nature and probability. Our author, again, has surveyed mankind, not carelessly indeed, but with a curious rather than a philosophic eye: he is attracted by the singularities and eccentricities of human character; he endeavours chiefly to amuse his readers with an exhibition of these; and whenever they have fallen within the reach of his observation, and he was under no temptation to distort, he has described them with

uncommon, we might say with inimitable truth, naïveté, and effect. He never fails to "carry every point" when he brings on the scene a Highland chieftain, a moss-trooper, an astrologer, or even a dwarf; a cunning publican, a simple clown, an artful waiting-woman, or a whimsical old housekeeper. The character of Niel Bane is painted to the life. The scene in the public-house is well described; and the character of Sergeant Bothwell is natural, and supported throughout,—only we must observe, that, from his education and former rank, he is not a fair specimen of the rude and brutal soldiery let loose upon the Covenanters; and he always takes care to engross the conversation, and scarcely allows his comrades to show their faces. The shrewdness and worldly sense of Cuddie Headrigg are very amusing; and we must praise the sagacity of the author in keeping him cheek by jowl to his mother, not to keep her within bounds, (for his presence is of little service that way), but to divert the reader's attention, and keep him from wearying of a character that is overcharged and unnatural. In general, we think that the author is most successful in giving the portraits of those in low life. Here he has, almost in every case, produced a *fac-simile*; so that we may justly apply the following lines, in which Martial praises the portrait of *Issa*, the favourite lap-dog of his friend Publius:

"In qua tam similem videbis Issam,
 Ut sit tam similis sibi nec ipsa.
 Issam denique pone cum tabella,
 Aut utramque putabis esse veram,
 Aut utramque putabis esse fictam."

So true the likeness of the elf,
 That liker is not Issa's self.
 Survey together, then apart,
 The child of nature and of art ;
 Each dog alike you'd say is true,
 Or both you'd say the artist drew.

On the score of common propriety, we must except the description of Goose Gibbie in the first scene. We are quite sensible that the author found it advisable to make some sacrifice of his taste to that of a large class of his readers, whom it was prudent to please ; but it was surely too much to record, with such tedious minuteness, and such marks of delight, the adventures and misfortune of a poor " half-witted lad," similar to those who give " infinite satisfaction" to thoughtless school-boys, gaping clowns, and giggling handmaidens.

One conspicuous fault in this tale lies in its not giving a view of the state of the Presbyterians previous to the time that it commences, and of the sufferings which they had endured from the government. It begins with an account of the assassination of Archbishop Sharp, and of the insurrection of the Presbyterians ; but it throws no light upon the causes which drove them to this extremity. Let them have been as fanatical, and violent, and rancorous in their political hatred, as the author represents them, still common justice, not to speak of candour, required that the reader should have been put in possession of those facts which were of an excusatory nature, or which would enable him to judge how far these vices were inherent in the Presbyterian character, and to what degree they were to be imputed to the

oppression and cruelty with which they had been treated. The necessity of this is so exceedingly obvious, that it is difficult to suppress the suspicion, that the information was intentionally kept back. We certainly do consider it as an instance of glaring partiality and injustice;—the more so, as a great proportion of the readers of the work know little more of the history of that time, beyond what they have found in the Introduction to Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, where it is described by the very elegant periphrasis of "*what is called the 'Persecution.'*" It is no apology for this, that the author has, in a general statement, opposed the tyranny of the government, and military violence, to the turbulence and fanaticism of the Covenanters; for he has dwelt upon the latter, and only glanced at the former in a transient manner. What would we think of a writer who should undertake the history of a civil war, without giving the causes which led to it; leaving his readers to collect these from other works, or to guess at them from the hints which he occasionally dropped?—We are not so unreasonable as to require, that our author should have alarmed his readers, by giving a dry narrative of this at the beginning of his work, or by substituting it in place of the interesting description of the wappin-schaw. Far from it; but none knows better than he where it could have been introduced with the greatest propriety and effect. Had he only introduced the leading facts in a conversation between Morton and a rational Presbyterian, (if such a personage could have entered into the author's conception), he might have given a higher tone to his work, and invested his nomi-

nal hero with the real character of a patriot, instead of making him a mere every-day person of romance—a puppet alternately agitated by love, and jealousy, and personal resentment, and a vague and feeble wish for fame. The narrative which we are necessitated to give, to supply the author's omission, can be but brief and general.

During *nineteen* long years previous to the insurrection at Bothwell, the Presbyterians of Scotland had smarted under the rod of persecution. Scarcely was Charles II. restored, when the scaffold was dyed with the blood of the noble Marquis of Argyle, who had placed the crown on the king's head, and of James Guthrie, whose loyalty—not of that passive, creeping, senseless kind, which cavaliers and Tories glory in, but enlightened, tempered, and firm—was proved by his refusing, during the whole period of the interregnum, to acknowledge either the Commonwealth or the Protectorate. The people of Scotland were deeply rooted in their attachment to Presbytery, from a persuasion of its agreeableness to Scripture, from experience of the advantages, religious and civil, which it had produced, from the oaths which they were under to adhere to it, and from the sufferings which they had endured for their adherence to it, both from the court and from the sectaries of England. Upon the Restoration, a proclamation was sent down to Scotland, in which the king promised to preserve this form of church government in that part of his dominions. But this was merely an artifice to lull the nation asleep, until the court had gained over or got rid of the principal persons whose

opposition they had reason to fear, and to prevent the general remonstrances which otherwise would have been presented from all parts of the kingdom against the intended change; for it is beyond all doubt, (whatever ignorance may assert to the contrary), that there was not then a party in Scotland, worthy of being named, which desired the restoration of Episcopacy upon religious principle. Accordingly, when the Parliament met, being packed by the court, and slavishly submissive to all its wishes, it proceeded to declare the king supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, to devolve upon him the whole right of settling the government of the church, to condemn all resistance to the royal authority, and at one stroke to rescind all the parliaments from 1640 to 1650, even those at which his Majesty and his father had been present, and all their acts, including many of the most enlightened and salutary which ever passed a Scottish legislature! Thus the liberties of the nation, civil and religious, were laid at the feet of the monarch, and the foundations of all legitimate government shaken. "This," says Bishop Burnet, "was a most extravagant act, and only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It shook all possible security for the future, and laid down a most pernicious precedent. It was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance. And no wonder it was so, when *the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk.*" Had not the ancient spirit of Scotland been broken by repeated disasters, and had they not been basely betrayed, the nation would have risen at once, bound this mad crew, and thrown off the degrading yoke which was imposed on them. In the exercise of

the powers with which he was invested, the king immediately restored Episcopacy by a royal edict, which was soon after confirmed by another parliament. One principal cause of this revolution, and of all the confusions, horrors, and crimes, which it entailed upon the nation during twenty-eight years, was the base and unparalleled treachery of Sharp, who having been sent to London by the Presbyterians to watch over their interests, and supported there by their money, deluded them in his letters by the most solemn assurances of his fidelity, and of the security of their cause, while he had betrayed that cause, and sold himself to their adversaries, and who continued to practise the same consummate hypocrisy, until he had no longer any reason for concealment, and took possession of the archbishopric of St Andrews. All the authority, and all the force of government, were henceforth employed almost solely in enforcing subjection to a form of church government, and to an order of men, that were odious to the nation. The Solemn League and Covenant, which was regarded with the greatest veneration, and had long been considered as one of the most sacred bonds of security for the national religion and liberties, was declared by statute unlawful, and all the subjects, as well as the king who had sworn it, were absolved from its obligation; those who were admitted to places of power and trust, were obliged explicitly to renounce it; and this renunciation soon came to be exacted from the subjects in general under the heaviest penalties. All ministers who had been admitted to parishes after 1649, were ordered, before a certain day, to receive collation from the bishops, or else to leave

their churches. In consequence of this, between three and four hundred of them were constrained to leave their charges, which were filled with men who were in general the very *dregs and refuse of society*. In giving them this character, we use the language, a little softened, of a bishop who was at that time in Scotland, and was a writer in support of Episcopacy. "They were," says he, "generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers ever I heard: they were ignorant to a reproach; and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders, and to the sacred functions; and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised." Who can wonder that such men were despised and detested? Who but hypocritical infidels, and profligates, and dastardly souls, would have submitted to the ministry of such men, or have abandoned their own ministers, who had been highly respected, and were highly respectable? Accordingly, such of the people as had any sense of religion, or of decorum, and were not slaves to the court, or to deep prejudice, scrupled to hear the curates, and frequented the churches of those Presbyterian ministers who had not yet been ejected. When this was not in their power, they craved instruction from their ejected pastors, who, considering the relation that had subsisted between them and their flocks as not dissolved, complied with their request, at first privately, and afterwards more publicly. This was the origin of separate meetings and conventicles, against

which the vengeance of the government, and of the bishops and their worthless underlings, was now directed.

Laws with penalties, which were gradually increased, were enacted, and every person bearing the king's commission had the power of executing them. The Parliament had granted to the king a standing army, under the pretext of defending Christendom against the Turks, forsooth, but in reality to support his arbitrary government. The soldiers were dispersed in companies through the non-conforming parishes. The curate read over a catalogue of his parishioners on the Sabbath-day, and having marked the names of such as were absent, gave them in to the person who commanded the company, who immediately levied the fines incurred by the absentees. In parishes to which the non-conformists were suspected to repair, the soldiers used to spend the Sabbath in the nearest inn, and when warned by the psalm that public worship was drawing to a close, they sallied out from their cups, placed themselves at the doors of the church, told the people, as they came out, like a flock of sheep, and seized as their prey upon such as had wandered from their own parishes. Ministers who preached at conventicles were, when apprehended, committed to prison, and banished; those who attended their ministry were severely fined, or subjected to corporal punishment. Masters were obliged to enter into bonds that their servants should not attend these meetings, and landlords to come under these engagements for all that lived on their estates. If any dispute arose respecting the fines, the person accused was obliged to

travel from the most distant part of the country, and though found innocent, was often obliged to pay, what was called *riding-money*, for defraying the travelling expenses of his accuser, who accompanied him.

Sir James Turner, who commanded a troop which lay at Dumfries in 1666, had distinguished himself by his military exactions and plunder. A small party of his soldiers were one day ordered to a small village in Galloway, to bring in one of their victims. While they were treating him in the most inhuman manner, some countrymen ventured to remonstrate against their cruelty. This was resented by the soldiers; a scuffle ensued, and the soldiers were put to flight. Knowing that this act would draw on them the vengeance of the military, the countrymen, being joined by numbers who could not but applaud their generous interference, disarmed the soldiers who were in the neighbourhood, and proceeding quickly to Dumfries, took Sir James Turner prisoner, and dispersed his troops. This incident produced the rising of the Presbyterians in the west of Scotland, which was suppressed at Pentland Hills by the king's troops under General Dalziel. How far it was prudent for them to continue in arms, and to brave the fury of the government, in the circumstances in which they were then placed, we shall not judge; but that they were chargeable with rebellion, we will not easily admit. "We leave all those who afterwards thought it lawful to join in the Revolution," says a sensible English author,* who wrote *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*,

* [Daniel De Foe.]

“and in taking arms against the oppressions and arbitrary government of King James, to judge, whether these good men had not the same individual reasons, and more, for this Pentland expedition? and it is answer enough to all that shall read these sheets to say, that these men died for that lawful resisting of arbitrary power which has been justified as legal, and acknowledged to be justifiable by the practice and declaration of the respective parliaments of both kingdoms.”

An unsuccessful attempt to throw off a tyrannical yoke, serves in general to rivet it more firmly, and to aggravate the sufferings of the oppressed. It was so in the present instance. Besides those who suffered for being engaged in the late insurrection, the nonconformists throughout the kingdom were prosecuted with the greatest rigour. A *bone of contention*, to use the phrase of their arch-persecutor, was thrown in among them by the royal acts of *Indulgence*, as they were called, by which a certain number of the ejected ministers were permitted to preach upon certain conditions, and were confined by twos, like galley-slaves, within their parishes. Upon this, severer laws were enacted against conventicles. To preach at a separate meeting in a private house, subjected the minister to a fine of five thousand merks; if he preached in the fields, his punishment was death and confiscation of property. The fines of those who countenanced these meetings were increased, and were proportioned to their wealth. For example, Sir George Maxwell of Newark, and Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock, were fined in a sum amounting to nearly eight thousand pounds sterling each, in the course of

three years, for absence from their parish church, attendance on conventicles, and disorderly baptisms. Landlords were now obliged to make it an article in their leases, and masters in their indentures, that their tenants and apprentices should regularly attend the established places of worship. Recourse was at last had to one of the most detestable measures of a tyrannical government. *Letters of intercommuning* were issued against a great number of the most distinguished Presbyterians, including several ladies of rank, by which they were proscribed as rebels, and cut off from all society; a price, amounting in some instances to five hundred pounds, was fixed on their heads, and every person, not excepting their nearest relatives, was prohibited from conversing with them by word or writing, from receiving or harbouring them, and from supplying them with meat, drink, clothes, or any of the accommodations or necessities of life, under the pain of being pursued with rigour, as guilty of the same crimes with the persons intercommuned. It is to be observed, that the highest offence of those who were thus excluded from the pale of society, was preaching at, or attending field conventicles. At the same time, the *Highland host* was brought down upon the western counties. Those who have heard of modern Highland hospitality, or been amused with fables of ancient Highland chivalry, can form no idea of the horror produced by the irruption of these *savages*, to the number of ten thousand, armed, besides their accustomed weapons, with spades, shovels, and mattocks, and with daggers or dirks made to fasten to the muzzles of their guns, iron-shackles for binding their prisoners,

and thumb-locks to oblige them to answer the questions that they proposed to them, and to discover their concealed treasure. The rapine and outrage committed by this lawless banditti, often without discrimination of conformists from nonconformists, having obliged the government to order them home, the regular troops were sent to replace them, provided with instructions to proceed with the greatest severity against those who attended conventicles, and headed by officers who had shown themselves best qualified for carrying these instructions into execution.

We cannot give an account of the sufferings which the Presbyterians endured by the execution of these barbarous measures. "They suffered," says an author already quoted, "extremities that tongue cannot describe, and which heart can hardly conceive of, from the dismal circumstances of hunger, nakedness, and the severity of the climate—lying in damp caves, and in hollow clefts of the naked rocks, without shelter, covering, fire, or food: none durst harbour, entertain, relieve, or speak to them, upon pain of death. Many, for venturing to receive them, were forced to fly to them, and several put to death for no other offence; fathers were persecuted for supplying their children, and children for nourishing their parents; husbands for harbouring their wives, and wives for cherishing their own husbands. The ties and obligations of the laws of nature were no defence, but it was made death to perform natural duties; and many suffered death for acts of piety and charity in cases where human nature could not bear the thoughts of suffering it. To such an extreme was the rage of these

persecutors carried." Nor can we give an account of the murders committed under the cloak of justice; the inhuman tortures to which the accused were subjected, to constrain them to bear witness against themselves, their relatives, and their brethren, and the barbarity of sounding drums on the scaffold to drown their voices, and of apprehending and punishing those who expressed sympathy for them, or who uttered the prayer, *God comfort you!* The number of prisoners was often so great, that the government could not bring them all to trial. Such of them as escaped execution were transported, or rather sold as slaves, to people desolate and barbarous colonies; the price of a whig was fixed at five pounds, and sometimes they were given away in presents by the judges.

Such was the state of matters at the period when the story before us is supposed to commence. Had the author been obliged to prefix to it a narrative of these transactions, however general, we do not believe that he would have ventured on bringing forward the representation which he has given of the two parties, or that he would have presumed on its meeting with a favourable reception. What person of judgment and candour will condemn the Covenanters, or say that they acted otherwise than it became men of conscience, integrity, and spirit, to act? Men who had been betrayed, insulted, harassed, pillaged, and treated in every way like beasts rather than reasonable creatures; and by whom? by a perfidious, profane, profligate, junto of atheists and debauchees, who were not fit for governing even a colony

of transported felons, aided by a set of churchmen the most despicable and worthless that ever disgraced the habit which they wore, or profaned the sacred function in which they impiously dared to officiate. Were these sufferers the men whom a writer of the nineteenth century would have chosen as the butt of his ridicule, by industriously bringing forward, and aggravating their foibles, and by loading them with follies and vices to which they were utter strangers, while he eagerly sought to shade the cruelties which they endured, and to throw a lustre over the character of their worst persecutors? Who, after contemplating the picture which the genuine history of these times presents, can read without scorn the pitiful complaint, that "the zeal of the conventiclers devoured no small portion of their loyalty, sober sense, and good breeding?" We have more respect for him, when with greater courage he avows his sentiments, and bears his testimony against "the envenomed rancour of their political hatred." For then we can tell him boldly in reply, that the government, or rather the political faction usurping the government, which the Presbyterians hated, deserved to be "hated with a *perfect* hatred." Indignant as we felt at such conduct, we could not prevent our features from relaxing, to hear him exclaim, with affected whining, and glaring self-contradiction—in the language of tragedy too,

"O, rake not up the ashes of our fathers!"

your fathers! If you mean the Presbyterians, they acknowledge you not; and if their persecutors, *you* only

are to blame for the stirring of those ashes with which time was gradually and slowly covering the memory of their infamous deeds.

If the Presbyterian preachers, and the people who faithfully and generously adhered to them—after being driven out of society, hunted from place to place, obliged to assemble on mountains, and to seek refuge in the caves and dens of the earth—had unlearned in a great degree the ordinary habits of men, and almost forgotten to speak the common language of their contemporaries;—if the scene with which they were daily surrounded had imparted to their minds a high degree of enthusiasm, and even of fierceness; in short, if the picture drawn by the author of the more rigid Presbyterians were just, (which we can by no means admit), still a faithful and intelligent historian would not only have fairly accounted for this, but would have painted their native sense, worth, and dignity of character, as displaying itself through the darker and less pleasing, but not uninteresting hue, which peculiar circumstances had for a time impressed upon their features. Who will wonder that some of them should at times have lost command of themselves, and done acts which did not accord with their general conduct and prevailing temper? When the oppression of the times became so indiscriminate, both in point of legal enactment and of actual execution, as to involve many others along with the immediate objects of persecution, and when it assumed so outrageous a form as to irritate all who had any regard for the rights of men, or any abhorrence of tyranny,

need we wonder that many persons, who, in point of religious and moral character, were dissimilar to the Covenanters, should have been induced to attend their conventicles, and to take part in their quarrel? Or need we be astonished that instruments should have been found to cut off so furious a persecutor, and a man so universally detested, as archbishop Sharp? Instead of being surprised at the insurrection of the Presbyterians, and the resistance which they made at Drumclog and Bothwell, may we not rather feel astonished that their patience held out so long under such intolerable oppressions? To those who would revive the exploded charge of rebellion, we give the same answer which we made in speaking of the rising at Pentland, and in the words of the same author whom we then quoted: "What a shame is it to us," says he, addressing the English nation, "and how much to the honour of these persecuted people, that they could thus see the treachery and tyranny of those reigns, when we saw it not; or rather that they had so much honesty of principle, and obeyed so strictly the dictates of conscience, as to bear their testimony, early, nobly, and gloriously, to the truth of God, and the rights of their country, both civil and religious! while we all, though seeing the same things, and equally convinced of its being right, yet betrayed the cause of liberty and religion, by a sinful silence, and a dreadful cowardice, not joining to help the Lord, or the people of the Lord, against the mighty; sitting still, and seeing our brethren slaughtered and butchered, in defence of their principles, (which our consciences told us, *even then*,

were founded on the truth), and by those tyrants who, we knew, deserved to be rejected both of God and the nation, and whom afterwards we did reject!"*

We now proceed to substantiate the charge which we have brought against the work, by adducing particular proofs, *first*, Of partiality to the persecutors; and, *secondly*, Of injustice to the persecuted Presbyterians. And as we do not mean to blink the charge, we wish to be understood as accusing the work of *gross* partiality and injustice.

In the *first* place, then, it gives an unfaithful picture of the sufferings which the country endured from military depredations and outrage. The history of that period is full of instances of these; and the author was not only sensible that he was bound to give a view of them, but has professed to give it. But how faint a resemblance does the picture bear to the original! We shall consider the scene at Tillietudlem, on occasion of Claverhouse's first visit to it, when we examine the character of that officer. The scene at Milnwood, when Henry Morton is taken prisoner, is the only one in the work which could properly be intended to represent the depredations of the soldiery, and is evidently given by the author as a specimen of the whole. (Vol. ii., pp. 172—207.) But here every circumstance is so arranged, as to diminish the impression which the reader might have conceived of the excesses committed on such occasions. Great alarm is indeed expressed at the arrival of the red-coats—but it is by the miserly landlord

* [De Foe's *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*.]

and his timid housekeeper. Old Milnwood slips into his pocket the silver spoons;—but the soldiers testify no disposition either to pilfer or plunder. The troopers call for drink with sufficient insolence—but the jests of the thoughtless and gay, though dissipated Bothwell, dispel the apprehensions of the reader, who is mightily pleased to see the claret of the old miser quaffed, and his musty bottles emptied. Bothwell determines to carry off young Morton as a prisoner; but it is only after discovering that he had afforded shelter to the murderer of the archbishop; and although he asserted that he was not aware of the commission of that deed, still his assertion was not sufficient warrant for the sergeant to allow him to escape.—Bothwell proceeds to put the test oath, but we are instantly told that he did it much in the same manner “which is used to this day in his majesty’s custom-house.” And before we have recalled our thoughts, the author has completely diverted our attention from the subject, by the struggle between Mause and her son, and the ridiculous, extravagant, and raving rhapsodies with which the former assailed the astounded ears of the soldiers. In short, the party carry off Henry Morton, leaving the impression upon our minds, that they had conducted themselves with great moderation, and disposing us to join heartily in the reproaches which the incensed housekeeper pours upon the head of Mause, as the sole cause of the misfortune that had befallen the family. Thus the tragic scenes of military violence, described by the faithful page of history, sink, in the mimic representation of our author, into a mere farce! And the moral of the fable, good reader,

if it be necessary to state it more plainly, is, that the evils which the Covenanters suffered from the soldiers were chiefly owing to their own indiscretion and extravagance. In the midst of this scene, so calculated to give a false idea of the then actual state of matters, the attentive reader could not fail to observe the mean attempt made to bribe him to think lightly of the whole persecution, by putting a laughable and ludicrous description of the sufferings of the Covenanters into the mouth of old Mause.

“ Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, et crimine ab uno
Disce omnes.”

In the *second* place, we bring the same charge against the representation made of the judicial procedure against the Covenanters. We allude particularly to the torture of Macbriar in the presence of the Privy Council. The use of that infernal mode of punishment at that period is so well known, that it could scarcely have been omitted ; and it afforded, besides, an opportunity to the author to display his powers of description. We readily allow that the operation, and the behaviour of the counsellors who witnessed the spectacle, are described in such a manner as to excite our horror at both. But what we complain of is, that even here the author has introduced a circumstance which is calculated most materially to diminish this feeling. As if the Privy Council had not been in the habit of torturing innocent men, the person selected as an example of their unfeeling severity, is not simply a Covenanter, a field-preacher, and one who had been in the rebellion at Bothwell ; but one

whom the author had previously made a murderer, and one of the most atrocious kind; we say a murderer, because his intention was fully manifested, and on the eve of being carried into execution, and because "the bitterness of death was past" with the victim, before he was rescued. (Vol. iv., pp. 68—100.) Macbriar is made to act a principal part in that horrid scene, (more horrid by far than that of the torture), and the description of it is wrought up to the very highest pitch of which the author's fancy was capable. Both scenes were of his creation; it will scarcely be denied, that in forming the one, he had his eye upon the other; and the tendency of the association upon the mind of the reader, is too obvious to require illustration.

A *third* instance of partiality to the persecutors, is the excessive tenderness and delicacy shown to the Episcopal clergy, contrasted with the manner in which the Presbyterian ministers are treated through the work. It is most undeniable, that they acted a very important part in the transactions of that period; yet they are concealed and kindly kept out of view by the author. Preachers of the Presbyterian persuasion, both indulged and non-indulged, moderate and rigid, are brought forward by name; the reader is introduced to their acquaintance, and made to listen to their conversations, and prayers, and preachings. But not one bishop or curate is introduced on the scene, and we seldom even hear of them, except when we are told of their being religiously employed in *reading prayers*! What is the reason of this? The reader may take the following until he can find a better. The gross ignorance of the greater part of them,

the vices with which their morals were stained, and the violence with which they instigated the government to persecution, were so glaring, as to be undeniable; the character given of them by Presbyterian writers, is so strongly confirmed by Bishop Burnet, that it was impossible to outface it; and to have presented them in their true colours, would not only have displeased the right reverend friends and informers of the author, but would also have tended in no small degree to have relieved the dark picture given of the Covenanters. We do not recollect to have seen *prudence* enumerated among the qualifications of a historian, but henceforward let it occupy a chief place among the historic virtues.

“Cave arguendum facinus hoc, lector, putes;
Causam rogas? Probanda virtus omnis est;
Ergo et probanda (quis neget?) prudentia.”

We now come to the character of Grahame of Claverhouse, afterwards known by the name of Viscount Dundee, which the author has laboured with the greatest art. Claverhouse was not in Scotland at the beginning of the persecution, but he had been employed in it as the captain of an independent troop, at least two years before the affair at Drumclog. His behaviour soon recommended him to his employers. Officers not distinguished for humanity, and sufficiently disposed to execute the orders which they received with rigour, had been previously employed by the court. But the deeds of Turner, Bannatyne, Grierson of Lagg, and General Dalziel, were soon eclipsed by those of Grahame, who long continued to be known in Scotland by the name of

Bloody Claverhouse. His actions, as recorded in the history of these times, do certainly prove that he was not undeserving of this appellation. A brief reference to some of these will assist us in judging of the character which the author has given of him. We shall not speak of the blood wantonly shed by him in the pursuit of the Covenanters after their rout at Bothwell, nor of the ravages and cruelties which he committed in Ayrshire and in Galloway, during that and the succeeding year; as it may be alleged, that revenge for the disgrace which he had suffered at Loudon Hill, prompted him to acts not congenial to his natural disposition. But this feeling had sufficient time to subside before 1684. During that year he had the chief command in the west of Scotland, and he employed the most disgraceful and barbarous measures to discover those that were inter-communed, and, if possible, to exterminate the whole party. He sought out and employed persons who could with the greatest address feign themselves to be pious men, and friendly to Presbyterians, and by this means discovered their retreats, or drew them from places where they could not be attacked by his troops. Having divided the country into districts, he caused his soldiers to drive all the inhabitants of a district, like so many cattle, to a convenient place. He then called out a certain number of them, and while his soldiers surrounded them with charged guns, and bloody threatenings, he made them swear that they owned the Duke of York as the rightful successor to the throne. If they had formerly taken the test or abjuration oath, he interrogated them if they had repented of this, and then

caused them to swear anew that they would never, under pain of losing their part in heaven, repent of it for the future. If any hesitated to swear, he was taken out a few paces from the rest, his face was covered with a napkin, and the soldiers ordered to fire over his head, to terrify him into compliance. At other times, he gathered together all the children of a district, from six to ten years of age, and having drawn up a party of soldiers before them, told them to pray, as they were going to be shot. When they were sufficiently frightened, he offered them their lives, provided they answered such questions as he proposed to them concerning their fathers, and such as visited their houses. Claverhouse scrupled not to take an active part in these disgraceful scenes, so far as to fire his own pistol twice over the head of a boy of nine years of age, to induce him to discover his father. He frequently shot those who fell into his power, though they were unarmed, without any form of trial; and when his soldiers, sometimes shocked at the wantonness of his cruelty, hesitated in obeying his orders, he executed them himself. The case of John Brown, in the parish of Muirkirk, affords an example of this kind. He was a man of excellent character, and no way obnoxious to government, except for non-conformity. On the 1st of May 1684, he was at work in the fields near to his own house, when Claverhouse passed, on his way from Lesmahago, with three troops of dragoons. It is probable that information of his non-conformity had been given to the Colonel, who caused him to be brought from the field to his own door, and, after some interrogatories, ordered him to be instantly shot. Brown being allowed a

few minutes to prepare for death, prayed in such an affecting strain, that none of the soldiers, profane and hardened as they were, could be prevailed upon to fire, upon which Claverhouse, irritated at the delay, shot him dead with his own hand, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the poor man's wife, who, far gone in her pregnancy, and attended by a young child, stood by. The afflicted widow could not refrain from upbraiding the murderer, and telling him, that he must give an account to God for what he had done; to which the hardened and remorseless villain proudly replied, *To man I can be answerable, and as for God, I will take him into my own hand.*—The apologists of Claverhouse have been obliged to notice the fact of his becoming the executioner of his own sentences, in the exercise of military discipline. But with their usual fertility in inventing excuses for his most glaring faults, and with their wonted ignorance of human nature, they impute such deeds of cold-blooded severity to a desire on his part to do honour to the individuals on whom the punishment was inflicted! Thus Dalrymple, after telling us, that the only punishment which Claverhouse inflicted was death, and that all other punishments, in his opinion, disgraced a gentleman, states, that a young man having fled in the time of battle, he brought him to the front of the army, and saying that “a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner,” shot him with his own pistol. Those who recollect the case of poor Brown, who was neither a soldier nor a gentleman, will know how to treat this absurd and ridiculous allegation.

The most hardened and irreligious persecutors do not always feel, upon reflection, that ease of mind which they affect. It is said that Claverhouse acknowledged to some of his confidential friends, that Brown's prayer often intruded on his unwelcome thoughts; and it is not improbable, that some degree of remorse at his late deed made him show an unwonted reluctance to a murder which he committed only ten days after. In one of his marauding expeditions, he seized Andrew Hislop, and carried him prisoner along with him to the house of Sir James Johnston of Wester-raw, without any design, it would appear, of putting him to death. As Hislop was taken on his lands, Wester-raw insisted on passing sentence of death on him. Claverhouse opposed this, and pressed a delay of the execution; but his host urging him, he yielded, saying, "The blood of this poor man be upon you, Wester-raw; I am free of it." A Highland gentleman, who was traversing the country, having come that way with a company of soldiers, Claverhouse meanly endeavoured to make him the executioner of Wester-raw's sentence; but that gentleman, having more humanity, and a higher sense of honour, drew off his men to some distance, and swore that he would fight Colonel Grahame sooner than perform such an office. Upon this, Claverhouse ordered three of his own soldiers to do it. When they were ready to fire, they desired Hislop to draw his bonnet over his face, but he refused, telling them, that he had done nothing of which he had reason to be ashamed, and could look them in the face without fear, and holding up his Bible in one of his hands, and reminding them of the account which they had to render, he re-

ceived the contents of their muskets in his body. Say, readers, who was the *hero*, and who the *coward*, on this occasion? We have no doubt that every person of genuine feeling, and whose judgment is unwarped by prejudice, will pronounce, that this man met his death with truer and more praise-worthy courage than Claverhouse afterwards did, when he died "in the arms of victory," to use the canting language of certain historians, "and wiped off the stain which he had contracted by his cruelties to the Covenanters;" a stain which no victory, however brilliant, could efface, and which all the art and labour of his most eloquent apologists, instead of covering, will only serve to bring more clearly into view.

In spite of these indisputable facts, which the friends of Claverhouse have never dared to deny, he is a great favourite with our author, who has made him not only a hero, but a profound politician, and a disinterested patriot. What cannot genius effect! And what will confidence in talents, provided it is propped by prejudice, and elevated by popular credulity, not undertake to perform! The author is not contented with holding up the character of Claverhouse in this light—he employs all his art, and all the powers of his eloquence, to impress it on the imagination of his readers. This he does, partly by the description which he gives of it in his own name, partly by what he puts into the mouths of his most respectable characters, and partly by the manner in which he represents his hero as speaking and acting in the interesting scenes in which he is made to figure. It is not from any one of these taken singly

that we must judge of the character, but from all of them taken together, and particularly from the last, of which extracts cannot convey an idea, although no reader can for a moment doubt of its effect from the impression left on his mind. We shall, however, quote the description which the author has given of Claverhouse upon his first appearance, as an introduction to the remarks which we have to make upon the character given of him throughout the work. After a minute description of his person,—the elegance of his shape,—the gracefulness of his gesture, language, and manners,—the feminine regularity of his features,—the delicacy of his complexion, with other marks of beauty, which “contributed to form such a countenance as limners love to paint, and ladies to look upon,”—and his “tone of voice of that happy modulation which could alike melt in the low tones of interesting conversation, and rise amid the din of battle, loud as a trumpet with a silver-sound,”—the author adds,

“The severity of his character, as well as the higher attributes of undaunted and enterprising valour, which even his enemies were compelled to admit, lay concealed under an exterior which seemed adapted to the court or the saloon, rather than the field. The same gentleness and gaiety of expression which reigned in his features, seemed to inspire his actions and gestures; and, on the whole, he was generally esteemed, at first sight, rather qualified to be the votary of pleasure than of ambition. But under this soft exterior was hidden a spirit unbounded in daring and in aspiring, yet cautious and prudent as that of Machiavel himself. Profound in politics, and imbued, of course, with that disregard for individual rights which its intrigues usually generate, this leader was cool and collected in danger, fierce and ardent in pur-

suing success, careless of death himself, and ruthless in inflicting it upon others. Such are the characters formed in times of civil discord, when the highest qualities, perverted by party spirit, and inflamed by habitual opposition, are too often combined with vices and excesses which deprive them at once of their merit and of their lustre.”—Vol. ii. pp. 287, 288.

To this may be added, the comparison which the author afterwards states between the characters of Dalziel and Claverhouse. Having described the exterior appearance of Dalziel, (almost in the words of Captain John Creighton, or rather of Dean Swift, except that he mentions the antique fashion of his boots, an article of dress which that respectable authority tells us he never wore), the author says,—

“His high and wrinkled forehead, piercing grey eyes, and marked features, evinced age unbroken by infirmity, and stern resolution unsoftened by humanity. Such is the outline, however feebly expressed, of the celebrated General Thomas Dalziel, a man more feared and hated by the whigs than even Claverhouse himself, and who executed the same violences against them out of a detestation of their persons, or perhaps an innate severity of temper, which Grahame only resorted to on political accounts, as the best means of intimidating the followers of Presbytery, and of destroying that sect entirely.”—Vol. iv. pp. 25, 26.

In the first place, here is a glaring contradiction in terms. We are told, that the violences which Claverhouse executed on the whigs, he “*only* resorted to on *political* accounts,” as contradistinguished from “an innate *severity* of temper.” And yet the author had before given a conspicuous place to the “*severity* of his character,” and described him as “careless of death him-

self, and *ruthless* in inflicting it upon others." Or, did he mean to impute Claverhouse's disregard of his own life to political considerations, and thus to divest him of personal courage and a martial spirit, (the only quality to which he had an undisputed claim), that he might shield him from the charge of inhumanity? Again, after having gravely told us that Dalziel was actuated by the innate severity of his temper, and Claverhouse solely by political considerations, "as the best means of *intimidating* the followers of Presbytery," the author within a little represents Claverhouse as continuing "an unwearied and bloody pursuit," under the impulse of his "fiery and *vindictive*" temper, while Dalziel is represented as urging the pursuit entirely on political accounts, and as a means "to *intimidate* these desperate rebels." (Vol. iv. pp. 62—64.)

"Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?"

The author frequently quotes proverbs, and he may perhaps have heard of one which is not without its meaning, "Better a black devil than a white." Where two characters are noted, or even suspected, for cruelty, we would far sooner throw ourselves on the mercy of him who is of severe brow and harsh manners, than of him whose real dispositions are concealed under a smiling countenance, and the most fawning address. We have in our eye facts directly bearing upon the case under consideration. Dalziel was guilty of great cruelties; yet there is at least one instance which shows, that his innate severity, hardened by a long course of barbarous service, was not altogether unsusceptible of humane im-

pressions, and that he could treat even a puritanical prisoner with generosity. John Paton was a captain in the Presbyterian army at Pentland, and on that occasion had fought sword in hand with Dalziel, whom he had encountered on the field. When he was brought in to Edinburgh as a prisoner, after the battle of Bothwell, a soldier upbraided him with being a rebel, to whom he mildly replied, "I have done more for the king than perhaps you have done," referring to the battle of Worcester, where he had fought for Charles. Dalziel, overhearing the conversation, said, "Yes, John, that is true," and, turning to the soldier, struck him with his cane, and told him he would learn him other manners than to abuse such a prisoner. He then expressed his sorrow for Paton's situation, said he would have set him at liberty if he had met him on the way, and promised that he would yet write to the king for his life. Paton thanked him, but added, "You will not be heard." "Will I not?" replied the General; "if he does not grant me the life of one man, I shall never draw a sword for him again." It is said that he obtained a reprieve for Paton; but he was not able to procure his life. Now we know of no instance of Claverhouse doing an action of this kind, except in the fictions of the tale before us. We have mentioned it, to show that the Presbyterian writers, who have recorded it, were not disposed to overlook any act of clemency towards them on the part of those who had been the instruments of their greatest sufferings, and also to show how grossly our author has blundered in the comparison which he has drawn between the characters of these two officers.

Whether the author took the likeness from limners or ladies, we shall not inquire; we are willing to allow that Claverhouse's features were feminine, and his complexion almost effeminate; all that we maintain is, that this soft and prepossessing exterior no more proves that he was not cruel, than it proves that he was not courageous. Without having recourse either to the physiological theory of Lavater, or the craniological system of Spurzheim, without examining either "a Grecian statue" or a Gothic, the author might have learned from plain history, that individuals distinguished for their personal beauty and blandishing manners, have been hardened, relentless, and savage in their dispositions. While the facts which we have mentioned remain undisputed, what has he done but described a *beautiful blood-hound*, "cool and collected in danger, fierce and ardent in pursuing success, careless of death himself, and ruthless in inflicting it upon others?"*

But let us examine the second trait in the character of Claverhouse, by which the author attempts to throw a shade over his cruelties. He was, it seems, profoundly versed in politics, and having imbibed the creed of Machiavel, he had recourse to severe and violent measures, not from any propensity to these, but from a cool conviction, deliberately formed, that they were the means

* ["As for my good friend, Dundee, I admit he was *tant soit peu sauvage*, but he was a *noble savage*; and the *beastly Covenanters*, against whom he acted, hardly had any claim to be called men, unless what was founded on their walking upon their hind feet."—Sir Walter Scott to Southey, Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, vol. ii. p. 134.]

best adapted to promote the public good, and even ultimately to lessen the effusion of human blood! This has at least the merit of novelty. None of the former historians or biographers of the brave Dundee ever conceived such an ingenious thought as this. They could represent the impetuosity of his courage as hurrying him into excesses, or they could insinuate, that the orders which he received, or the conduct of the people whom he was employed to suppress, rendered it necessary for him to be severe and unrelenting,—apologies which readily suggest themselves to the lowest and most illiterate ruffian that plunders and murders under the protection of a red-coat or a commission. But it never entered into their barren conceptions to send him to study in the schools of Italy, or to represent him as initiated into all the refined and deep mysteries of the Florentine politician. Sir John Dalrymple has told us, without alleging a single authority, but with as great confidence and minuteness as if he had been copying from memoirs written by Dundee himself, or by his secretary, that he “had inflamed his mind, from his earliest youth, by the perusal of ancient poets, historians, and orators, with the love of the great actions they praise and describe: he is reported to have inflamed it still more, by listening to the ancient songs of the Highland bards.” But our author goes another way to work, and represents his hero as spending his youth in poring over the dark pages of Machiavel, and in threading the intricate mazes of political disquisition,—an employment not very congenial to a mind that was enraptured with the songs of ancient and modern bards. Such are the inconsis-

tencies and improbabilities in which writers involve themselves, who, in describing a favourite character,

“——disentangle from the puzzled skein,
In which obscurity has wrapp'd them up,
The threads of politic and shrewd design,
That ran through all his purposes, and charge
His mind with meanings that he never had.”

To describe Claverhouse as “profound in politics,” appears to us ridiculous in the extreme. It is not supported by any thing in his character or conduct. The qualities of a profound politician are very rarely found combined with those of a brave and enterprising officer—we speak of state politics, not those of the camp. Even as to the latter, we have never been able to see good grounds for the eulogiums that certain writers have passed upon Dundee, although we are not disposed to contest a point which lies without our sphere. But sure we are, that he could have no claim to political sagacity, unless its maxims are all comprised in the words which the author puts into his mouth after the victory of Bothwell, “Kill, kill,—no quarter,” which, with due modification to the state of a country not in actual insurrection, will exhaust the whole of his political creed. To what purpose talk of “a disregard to *individual* rights” as generated by political intrigues, with reference to a man whose whole conduct was a trampling on general and national rights, both in his treatment of the Presbyterians, and in his attempts to maintain a tyrant on the throne?

Claverhouse is introduced as boasting of his disinterestedness, and it is evidently intended that he should

be believed. Ambition, we believe, was his ruling passion, and we feel no inclination to urge the allegation which has been brought against him, as equally eager to share in the fines exacted from the Covenanters as any of his brethren in arms. But ambition is a selfish passion as well as avarice, and more destructive of public good. Our author represents fidelity as a striking trait in Claverhouse's character. Thus he makes him to say, "Faithful and true are words never thrown away upon me, Mr Morton." Had he entertained just notions of fidelity, or respected that virtue in others, he could not have acted as he did to the Covenanters, against whom no accusation could be brought but fidelity in adhering to the most sacred engagements that ever any people were brought under. The fidelity with which he adhered to the interests of James cannot be viewed as highly meritorious, when it is considered how obnoxious and odious he had made himself, by his cruelties, to the opposite party. Nor should it be forgotten, that the Viscount Dundee made proposals to King William, and employed a bishop to ascertain the conditions upon which he might make his peace with the new government, although the terms offered to him were such as to be irreconcilable with his restless and ambitious spirit. The Earl of Melfort may be presumed to have been better acquainted with Dundee's character than any modern author, who appears to have formed his judgment of it chiefly from the work of a portrait-painter. We are informed by Lord Balcarras, that Melfort wrote to the general, that James had drawn up his declaration of indemnity and toleration in such ambiguous terms, that

he might break his promises whenever he pleased. And so far was Melfort from fearing that this would shock Dundee's nice sense of honour and fidelity, that he communicated it as a piece of information which he knew would be highly gratifying to him. Are the words "faithful and true" synonymous, in our author's vocabulary, with an approbation of one of the most detestable principles of the Machiavellian school? or, did he expect his readers to believe, that these opposite qualities were blended in the same character?

In fine, is it alleged, in extenuation of his cruelties, that his character was formed "in times of civil discord, when the highest qualities" are "perverted by party spirit, and inflamed by habitual opposition?" We reply, that among all the actors in these bloody scenes, Claverhouse had the least claim to this apology. He left his native country at an early period of life, before he could be supposed to have taken any particular interest in the strife of its parties; his character, so far as it depended on external circumstances, was formed in France and Holland; and when he returned to Scotland, he entered at once into all the severe and barbarous measures of the government.

It will be said that the author has allowed that Claverhouse was one of those characters, whose high qualities are "combined with vices and excesses, which deprive them at once of their merit and of their lustre." We know that he has; and if he had said nothing of a contrary tendency, although we think his language an extremely inadequate expression of the atrocities to which it relates, still we should not have reckoned it ne-

cessary to animadvert upon it particularly. But what we complain of is, that he has not exhibited, as was his duty, these vices and excesses, so as to excite a due detestation of them in the minds of his readers. We complain, that in the representation given of him in the tale, Claverhouse's vices are shaded, and his excesses diminished, with the most glaring partiality. We complain, that excuses are made for his conduct, to which he had no claim, or which ought to have been urged in aggravation, and not in extenuation of his guilt. We complain, that his good qualities are industriously brought forward, and unduly blazoned, and that others are ascribed to him which he did not possess. And we complain, that by these means, a bloody, unrelenting, and remorseless persecutor, and one of the most active and unprincipled supporters of arbitrary and despotic power, is exhibited in such flattering colours, as to attract admiration to a character, which, had its features been delineated with the pencil of truth, would have excited little else than feelings of indignation and horror. So that the author, by his description, practically contradicts what he had admitted in general terms, and has done what was in his power to restore to the character that merit and lustre, to use his own phraseology, of which its vices and excesses had justly deprived it.

A very cursory survey of the scene at Tillietudlem, when Morton's fate depended upon the determination of Claverhouse, will show that our complaints are not groundless. This is evidently introduced by the author as a fair representation of the cruelties with which Grahame was chargeable. But how unlike to the truth!

Does Claverhouse shoot Morton with his own hand? O horrid! No. Is Morton shot at all? No. How then does he escape with his life? Is he rescued from death by the sudden advance of his friends the whigs? Not at all. The author is more sparing and judicious in the use of poetic machinery than old doting Homer, who is ever depriving his heroes of the glory of a victory, or of an act of clemency, by imputing these to the intervention of one or other of his officious gods. Something of this kind was highly proper, and it is not withheld, when Morton was afterwards to be saved from the bloody fangs of the savage fanatics at Drumshinnel. But it was quite unnecessary and superfluous to have recourse to any such expedient on the present occasion. Morton is perfectly safe under the protection of his good friends the tories; and Claverhouse, after a struggle with his sense of the duty which he owed to his superiors, and the severe measures which he deemed necessary to repress the mutinous spirit that was spreading through the country, finally yields to spare the life of Morton, though he was charged with resetting the murderer of the archbishop, and though his spirit and talents might afterwards prove dangerous to the government. But is all this easily accomplished? No, not quite easily either. It has cost the author four whole chapters consisting of considerably above a hundred pages of as good paper and letter-press as any in the whole work. Let us look into them, and examine their contents.

The tenth chapter prepares us for being admitted into "the presence of the dreaded chief," by an interesting conversation on his character between Miss Bellenden and

Morton. The former, indeed, speaks with great dread and horror of the inexorable severity of Claverhouse's character. But then we recollect, that apprehensions for the fate of her lover have raised her fears to an undue pitch ; and if we participated for a moment in her fears, we are relieved by Morton's reply, " Claverhouse, though stern and relentless, is, by *all* accounts, brave, fair, and honourable." This would have allayed the fears of even Miss Bellenden herself, had it not been for a circumstance mentioned in a letter which her grandmother had that morning received from the grieved and incensed Colonel. "The unhappy primate was his intimate friend and early patron!" And on that account he threatened, that, "no excuse, no subterfuge, shall save either those connected with the deed, or such as have given them countenance and shelter, from the ample and bitter penalty of the law." Morton was in this way placed in very peculiar circumstances of danger. We should like to know something of the history of the letter which contained this piece of new and important information. It would be curious to know whether it had fallen into the hands of the Cameronians, and being suppressed by them, was discovered upon *Old Mortality*, when he was "found in the highway near Lockerby, in Dumfries-shire, exhausted and just expiring ;" or whether we owe it to the researches of some of the non-jurant bishops, who kindly communicated it to the author. The public may afterwards be gratified with this piece of history : in the meantime, as no doubt can be entertained of the genuineness of the letter, it unquestionably throws new light upon the character of Claverhouse.

We now cease to wonder at the reluctance which he showed to spare Morton at the intercession of Major Belenden; and if we cannot just approve of all the severities which he afterwards practised on the Covenanters, we must at least feel a respect for the motive which prompted him to inflict them.

In the eleventh chapter, the reader is conveyed to the battlements of the Tower of Tillietudlem, and is presented with a most charming prospect of the surrounding scenery. While he is feasting on this enchanting landscape, his ears are attracted by the distant sounds of martial music. The expected body of cavalry make their appearance, and the long and imposing train, and "the glancing of the swords, and waving of their banners, joined to the clang of their trumpets and kettle-drums," have "at once a lively and awful effect upon the imagination." They present themselves in front of the castle, and while the standard is lowered "amid the fanfare of the trumpets, and the stamp and neigh of the chargers"—"Claverhouse himself, alighted from a black horse, the most beautiful perhaps in Scotland—he had not a single white hair upon his whole body"—and he was shot-proof, according to the opinion of "the superstitious fanatics;"—and the heroic chief is instantly at the feet of the ladies, whom he salutes "with military politeness."

The twelfth chapter introduces us into the presence of Claverhouse, and we are enamoured with his personal accomplishments and captivating manners. We are then made to listen to an account of Morton's danger and escape, which is continued in the succeeding, or thir-

teenth chapter. As to this, it might suffice to say, that we never once feel any apprehension for his fate, nor think that he is in the least danger from the severity of Claverhouse. We hear the author (not Claverhouse) exclaim, "Bothwell, why do you not bring up the prisoner? And hark ye," as if he knew that he was not listened to, or believed, "let two files load their carabines." We are told that a prisoner has entered the room heavily ironed; but we hear not the clank of his chains. This may arise from our dulness; but the feelings of Edith Bellenden are not widely different. "Her blood, which rushed to her brow, made a sudden revulsion to her heart, and left her as pale as death." But was this from dread of her lover's life? By no means; it arose merely from the consciousness that he had overheard her, as he passed, use an expression which would create jealousy in his breast. "Cautious and prudent as Machiavel himself," she guards against dropping a word which may either betray the real state of her affections, or encourage Evandale's hopes, while she requests an intercession in behalf of Morton; and with great coolness and self-command she adheres to her first expression—"Try it for my uncle's sake." Indeed, it is with the greatest difficulty that the author can get her to go through her part of the farce with any degree of tolerable decency—by all his prompting—by uttering a sigh for her—and at last, in utter despair, by giving her a concealed but sure blow, which would have made her to have "fallen flat upon the pavement, had she not been caught by her attendant;" upon which Lord Evandale very coolly leaves her, and, taking Claverhouse into another apartment,

restores his chafed commander to his usual reason and moderation. But we may appeal to the manager of the piece himself in support of the justness of our feelings. What does he do? When he has placed the prisoner at the bar of Claverhouse, and when, if there is any truth in history, the trial could not be long, nor the execution of the sentence distant, he takes the reader aside, and very gravely commences a tedious discourse, in which he unfolds the true character of Morton—states his religious and political principles—gives an account of his courtship—opens up the cause of his jealousy—draws a character of Miss Bellenden's waiting-woman—mentions how she used to tease the poor lover—and tells a story respecting Lord Evandale—not omitting to introduce under these heads, appropriate illustrations from Mrs Quickly and Uncle Toby. The chapter in which all this information is contained (for it has a new chapter allotted to it) begins in the following manner:—

“O, my lord, beware of jealousy.”—OTHELLO.

“To explain the deep effect which the few broken passages of the conversation we have detailed, made upon the unfortunate prisoner, by whom they were overheard, it is necessary to say something of his previous state of mind, and of the origin of his connection with Edith. Henry Morton was one of those gifted characters, which possess a force of talent unsuspected by the owner himself.”—And so on to the middle of the chapter.

‘What an absurd and disgusting digression! Sure, not Poundtext, Rumbleberry, Kettledrummle, Heathercat, Gumblegumption, nor any other of the gifted brethren among the Presbyterians, ever made a sermon more out

of place, or more wearisome, than this is!' Softly, simple enthusiast; thou penetratest not the secret of the author, nor perceivest the perplexities from which he must extricate himself. It is necessary to give some feasible account of "a singular and instantaneous revolution" in Morton's character, of which the author needs to avail himself "for the moment." It is necessary that Morton should conduct himself in a rude, imprudent, and outrageous manner, in order that he may be a fit representative of those who felt the severity of the judge before whom he stands. Can we believe, on any other supposition, that the polite, brave, generous, fair, and honourable Claverhouse, would have condemned him to die? No; he needed to be baited, bayed, challenged, and insulted, and that by a prisoner charged with a capital offence, and expected, as their leader, by a body of rebels, then in arms at a little distance. And this prisoner he, after all, generously pardons at the intercession of Lord Evandale. Say now, "descendants of those enthusiasts whom he persecuted, among whom the name of the bloody Clavers is held in equal abhorrence, and rather more terror, than that of Satan himself,"—say, if you can now accuse him of cruelty, or even undue severity; and if you are not forced to admit and admire the uncommon clemency with which he spared the lives of your fanatical fathers!

The character of Claverhouse having passed this ordeal, is henceforward held forth as entitled to almost unlimited admiration and applause. His patriotism and disinterestedness, as well as his bravery, are talked of; and on one occasion the reader is persuaded

that he sees the tear of humanity trickling down his soft cheek, (vol. iii. p. 139). If he is seen at Bothwell Bridge "like a hawk perched upon a rock, and eyeing the time to pounce on its prey," he descends on Drumshinnel like a protecting angel to save the innocent. Morton, having fallen into his hands, is treated by him rather as a friend and companion than a prisoner; and while he enjoys the company of "this remarkable man," is delighted and astonished "by the varied play of his imagination, and the depth of his knowledge of human nature!"

We may perhaps have dwelt too long on this flattering and fallacious picture. But we judged that we were performing a sacred duty to the cause of truth, humanity, and public good, in exposing such a flagrant attempt to recommend a character which deserves almost unqualified detestation. We intended to have subjoined some reflections upon the bad tendencies of a practice which has of late become too general among our popular writers, who exert all their eloquence to exalt the military character above every other, to invest it with "the highest qualities," and to throw such a dazzling glare over the display of personal valour and martial abilities, as to conceal the cruelties with which it is accompanied, and in a great measure to reconcile the mind to it, even when it is employed to enslave mankind, and to rear or uphold the empire of despotism and tyranny. But we must conclude that part of our review which relates to the partiality shown by the author to the oppressors of the Presbyterians; and we cannot do this better than by quoting a passage from a beautiful little

poem which has lately appeared in the *Poetic Mirror*, and which we should have liked to have seen in a separate form. It is *said* to be written by Walter Scott.* It certainly would have done no discredit to the talents of that celebrated poet; but some of its most prominent sentiments—not to speak of the style—bear so very little resemblance to his, that very few, we apprehend, will be disposed to give him the merit of being its author. We are happy, however, to perceive, by looking into his late edition of Swift's Works, that Mr Scott is now convinced, that the treatment of the Presbyterians, between 1660 and 1688, *was* a "persecution," of which he appeared formerly to entertain some doubts; and we are not altogether without hopes, that, at some future period, his sentiments may undergo such a revolution, as to induce him to admit the justice of the following character of Claverhouse, although he should not be able to claim the lines in which it is so well drawn.

" There, worthy of his masters, came
The despot's champion, *bloody Grahame*,
To stain for aye a warrior's sword,
And lead a fierce, though fawning horde,
The *human* bloodhounds of the earth,
To hunt the peasant from his hearth!
—Tyrants! could not misfortune teach,
That man has rights beyond your reach?
Thought ye the torture and the stake
Could that intrepid spirit break,
Which even in woman's breast withstood
The terrors of the fire and flood!"

[* This piece was in reality written, in imitation of Scott, by Thomas Pringle, Esq., author of "The Excursion," and other Poems.]

SECTION II.

Poetical Mottoes of the Tales—Injustice done to the Character and Conduct of the persecuted Presbyterians—Explanation of the Causes which have prepared the Public Mind for receiving such Misrepresentations favourably—Former Prejudices against Presbyterians—Judge Jeffreys—Precedents in Scotland, both before and after the Revolution—Extracts—Charges against the Covenanters considered—Puritanism—Superstition—Enthusiasm and Fanaticism—Ludicrous use of Scripture Language—Mr King—The Profaneness of the Novelist—Alleged Coarseness and Extravagance of the Style of the Covenanters—Strictures on the Insolence and Malignity of the British Critic—Specimens of English and Scottish Episcopalian Eloquence.

“ Yes—though the sceptic’s tongue deride
 Those martyrs who for conscience died,—
 Though modish history blight their fame,
 And sneering courtiers hoot the name
 Of men who dared alone be free,
 Amidst a nation’s slavery,—
 Yet long for them the poet’s lyre
 Shall wake its notes of heavenly fire ;

Their names shall nerve the patriot's hand,
 Upraised to save a sinking land ;
 And piety shall learn to burn
 With holier transports o'er their urn !"

EPISTLE TO R. S.*

THERE is something extremely fascinating in all that is done by a man of genius. Persons of minor talents are irresistibly attracted by his motions, and follow him even in his eccentricities, and greatest aberrations from good sense and propriety. Since the days of the Spectator, it has been an invariable practice with the authors of all periodical works of the same literary complexion, to begin each paper with a motto in Latin or in Greek. The author of the Tales having struck out a new species of fictitious writing, which, it is expected, will continue as fashionable during the nineteenth, as that of the Spectator was during the eighteenth century, has given it a distinctive mark, by prefixing to each chapter a select piece of English poetry. This has already become so popular, that a friend of ours lately addressed us on the propriety of our following the example, and prefixing a few lines of poetry to each paper of our prosaic instructions. We could not help demurring to this unexpected proposal, and signified, that the practice appeared to us to savour very strongly of affectation and puerility, and that our readers would certainly take it into their heads, that we were a company of concealed poets or poetasters,

* [From the Poetic Mirror, a collection of poems, imitating, occasionally, with great success, the peculiarities of some well known poets of the day, such as Byron, Moore, Scott, &c.]

who, being forced out of employment by the badness of the times, had betaken ourselves, for the sake of making a little money, to the business of editing religious communications, and who would leave them and return to our old work, as soon as trade revived. "Not at all, not at all, (said he, in a tone of decision which rather embarrassed us); you must allow me to know these things better than you. The public are not so jealous, nor so far-sighted as you think them to be. I can tell you, that the practice in question has contributed as much as any thing to the popularity of the Tales; and I could not help smiling in my sleeve, to see you very gravely and philosophically assigning a number of reasons for concluding that they were written by the author of Waverley and Guy Mannering, while you passed over the most palpable and convincing of all. Ask the publisher, and I am persuaded he will tell you, that the uniform practice of purchasers, on taking up the book, is to look at the title page and beginning of the chapters, and upon perceiving the poetical impress on these, they at once draw the conclusion, and throw down the money. I assure you that it forms one of the leading beauties of the Tales, and exhibits in fact that 'variety combined with unity,' which you insinuated was wanting in them. It has a most wonderful effect upon the mind of the reader—an effect which may be compared to that of the chorus in the ancient Greek tragedy, or of a song between the acts of a modern comedy, or of the tuck of the drum during the intervals of evolution at a military review, or the sound of the huntsman's horn upon the dogs at a fox-chace, or, not to multiply figures on a to-

pic so evident, and to comprehend all in one, like the effect of the stroke of an auctioneer's hammer at the end of every article of sale." (Here our friend began to recommend to us the imitation of the style and manner of a periodical work* recently begun in this city; but on our exhibiting strong symptoms of disgust, he desisted, and resumed his former theme.) "Well, (continued he), I shall undertake to provide you with a motto for the title-page of your present volume, as appropriate as that of the *Tales*, from Burns's 'Cotter's Saturday Night,' or from the 'Gude and Godly Ballates' of Græme Dal-yell—Be not afraid; I do not mean Grahame of Claverhouse, or Dalziel of Binns, but John Græme Dal-yell, Esq., advocate, who edited the said Ballads; and I shall also select for you an extract from Chateaubriand's 'Beauties of Christianity,' to be placed in the original French, with a translation, opposite the title; both of which will continue to stand as a perpetual frontispiece to all your subsequent volumes. In the mean time, lay you in a sufficient quantity of extracts for the interior departments of your Magazine."† Not willing to differ altogether with our adviser, of whose intelligence, as well as friendly dispositions, we have had many satisfying proofs, we resolved to yield so far as to make the trial in one instance; and accordingly, in imitation of the *Tales*, we have begun the second part of our review with a reasonably long extract from the poem from which we quoted at the close of the preceding part.

In justice to ourselves, we must however observe, that

* ["The Sale-Room."] †

["i.e. The Christian Instructor."]

neither the example of the author of the *Tales*, nor the persuasions of our friend, would have induced us to this compliance, if we had not been convinced of two things. The first is, the intrinsic excellence of the lines which we have prefixed, and their extreme suitableness to our purpose. They exhibit, in a succinct form, and with much beauty and force, what we wish to lay before our readers in greater detail in the following pages. And indeed it would not have been easy for us to have conveyed in so few words, the ideas which we have of our persecuted ancestors, and of those who have made it their business to deride and calumniate them. This being the case, we stand acquitted of the charge of puerile affectation. Secondly, we are completely satisfied of the justness of the character which they give to the sufferers. If we had entertained any doubts on this head, or been afraid that we might not be able to vindicate our fathers from the slander with which they are aspersed in the work under review, we would certainly have given a less conspicuous place to the lines in praise of them; for we make no pretensions to that high quality of the author of the *Tales*, by which he takes the liberty of saying whatever sounds well, and is calculated to make an impression for the moment, without considering if he can prove it, or make it consistent with what he may afterwards advance. We do not write for the readers of novels, nor will *our* ambition be gratified by gaining the approbation of the children of credulity and the slaves of prejudice.

We flatter ourselves that we have, in the preceding part of this review, sufficiently proved, that the author

in his representation, has discovered glaring partiality to the persecutors of the Presbyterians, by veiling their cruelties, and by presenting their characters in a favourable but false light. We now go on to show, that he is guilty of injustice, equally glaring, in the view which he has given of the character and conduct of the oppressed and persecuted Presbyterians.

In drawing the character of the persecutors, the author used no small art, and we found it necessary to attend to the nicer touches of his pencil, by which he blended light and shade together, and softened the harsher features of his portraits. But here he has in a great measure saved us the trouble of minute inspection. No one can be at a loss to perceive, at a single glance, the characters in the Covenanting group. They are not greatly diversified; their features are few; they are strongly marked, and the colours are laid on with no sparing or delicate hand. In general, they are either fools and madmen, or hypocrites and rogues, and for the most part they are a compound of both. Look upon them, and you instantly recognise the puritan and precisian. Approach nearer, and examine them more narrowly, and you find them to be wild enthusiasts and gloomy fanatics. They express themselves, even in their ordinary conversation, in a strange, ridiculous, and incoherent jargon, compounded of Scripture phrases, and cant terms peculiar to their own party opinions in ecclesiastical polity. They are utterly destitute of all knowledge of civil rights, and of any enlightened regard to the principles of political liberty. They are of disloyal principles, and rancorous in their political hatred. They

are enemies to all elegant studies, as well as innocent recreations. Amidst all their affected preciseness, and claims to superior godliness, they are selfish, and do not scruple to have recourse to base and wicked means to advance the good cause, or to promote their own interest. They are as much disposed to persecute as their adversaries. They are destitute of military talents, and show themselves as incapable of vindicating their claims in the field, as of recommending themselves to the government by the moderation and mildness of their behaviour. In fine, many of them have imbibed the principles of assassination, and are prepared to act upon them.

Except in the last-mentioned particular, this is the character which the author gives of the Presbyterians, both indulged and non-indulged,—the only difference between the two classes consisting in the higher degree of extravagance and enthusiasm displayed by the latter. To relieve the mind in some degree in contemplating this bloated and unsightly picture, the author, by a singular exertion of candour or of compassion, has condescended to admit, at some distance from the gloomy group, *one* rigid recusant who yet retains the humane and social affections, in the person of a poor widow. Morton cannot be considered as an exception. He was a Presbyterian neither in principle nor in spirit; he joined them from accident and irritation; he was never happy till he was delivered from their society, and found himself under the protection of the amiable and accomplished Claverhouse; and as long as he was among them, he was unable to find an individual with whom he could

sympathise, but the liberal-minded Cuddie Headrigg, who often, "though with less refinement, was following out a similar train of ideas," and who alone was capable of understanding his "chartered rights as a freeman." To give his summary account of the Covenanters—"One party declares for the ravings of a blood-thirsty mad-man; another leader is an old scholastic pedant; a third"—the poor child durst not proceed farther for fear of Balfour, who finished the sentence for him—"is a desperate homicide, thou wouldst say, like John Balfour of Burley." Did we think the author as weak as he has made his hero, and had we been alone with him, as Burley was with Morton, we would have been disposed to have taken our leave of him with the words that follow in his narrative, "I can bear this misconstruction without resentment." But as he has said more than he has put into the mouth of his silly "stripling," and as the cause is before the public, we must have a few serious words with him on this subject before we can agree to separate.

The good people of Scotland, who inherit any portion of the spirit of their fathers, will no doubt be amazed to see those whom they have been accustomed to revere as patriots, and to venerate as confessors and martyrs for truth, now held up to derision as mad enthusiasts, and reviled as hypocritical and murderous ruffians. Even those who, from their peculiar sentiments, do not sympathise deeply with these feelings, will be shocked at the profane levity with which the most sacred subjects are exposed to ridicule, and will feel themselves at a loss to account for such a singular and daring attempt. But

such as are acquainted with the history of former times, and have been attentive observers of the changes that public opinion has lately undergone, will not be surprised, nor think that any strange thing has happened. They have for some time anticipated an attack of this kind, and therefore are not altogether unprepared for meeting it. They know that it is only the overflowing of that gall and spite against the reformation-principles of Scotland, religious and political, which has always lodged in the breasts of a certain faction, and which has burst forth in consequence of the removal of those restraints by which it was long reluctantly pent up, or forced to vent itself in secret. They can trace the causes which have led to this eruption. They see them in the force with which the current of public opinion, impelled by recent events, has been directed into the old channel of hereditary rights and royal legitimacy, to the overbearing and carrying away of all well-grounded jealousies of arbitrary power and slavish non-resistance. They see them in the progress of infidelity, which natively generates a contempt for religious reformers, and which disposes its votaries, whatever their political sentiments be, secretly to rejoice at whatever lowers the reputation of such men, and to view with indifference, if not with hostility, all struggles for the rights of conscience, provided they are combined with zeal for the preservation of a particular creed or form of ecclesiastical polity. They see them in the adoption, by different parties, of religious opinions very different from those which were once almost universally embraced in Scotland, and especially of that opinion, common to almost

all of them, that religious and civil concerns ought to be completely separated,—a principle which lays the proceedings of our reforming and suffering ancestors open to easy attack, and upon which it will be found impossible satisfactorily to vindicate their conduct. In fine, they see them in the overweening conceit of the present age, by which it is disposed to wrap itself in its own fancied acquirements and doings, and to undervalue those that preceded it; as if there had been nothing good and great before we were born; and as if all the knowledge and all the privileges, both political and religious, which we possess, had been acquired by our own exertions, or communicated to us immediately from Heaven, without being transmitted to us by the faithful contendings and the blood of those who lived in former times. All of these causes, we are of opinion, have contributed to induce the public to favour or wink at the more partial and sparing attacks which the author of the work under review, along with other writers of the same stamp, has formerly made on the character of our religious forefathers. And having felt his ground, and ascertained that the danger is not great, he has been encouraged to make the present attempt. Whether it shall succeed altogether according to his wishes, or whether the event may prove that he has been too sanguine in his expectations, it is not for us to determine.

We repeat it—we were not startled at the picture of our persecuted ancestors presented to us in the *Tales*. It was not new to us. We had often seen it before. We could recognise every feature. There is only an alteration in the costume and border work, and a slight

softening of the colours, to adapt it to the taste of the age. In all other respects the author has faithfully copied his great originals. This is not the first time that the enemies of the Whigs or Presbyterians have "said all manner of evil falsely against them." None can be ignorant of this who is acquainted with the writings of court sycophants during the reigns of the two last Stuarts, and of the High Church and Jacobitish faction after the Revolution in England, Ireland, and Scotland, —who has read the speeches of Jeffreys and Mackenzie, or consulted the pages of Butler, Dryden, and Swift, of Colville, Pitcairn, and Rhind. "'Tis difficult to name that ill thing which a Heylin, a Hicks, a Lessly, a Sacheverel, a Calder, or some other very reverend divine of the like probity, has not writ of them, or imputed to them. Who were the instruments that procured the Spanish Armada to invade England in 1588? The Whigs. Who burned London in 1666? The Whigs. Who piloted in and assisted the Dutch to burn the English fleet at Chatham? The Whigs. Nay, who crucified Jesus Christ? Who but the Whigs? The very children are taught to lisp out that. *Calves-head feasts* are with these authors true history. Why? Because one of themselves wrote it, and the rest cite it, and who dares doubt it after that?"*

In support of the justness of his statements, and even of the very language which he has employed, our author can appeal to high and learned authority. "This I am sure of," says Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, "lying is as

* Anderson's Defence of the Presbyterians, p. 4, where the authorities are given.

much the talent of a Presbyterian as it can be of a Papist; nay more—for it is as inseparably incident to a Presbyterian (and such snivelling, whining, canting knaves) to lie as to speak. They can no more forbear lying than they can forbear speaking; for, generally, as often as they do the one, they do the other.”*—“We know well enough (said the same enlightened and liberal-minded judge, on another trial) you snivelling saints can lie. When people come to gild over their bitter pill of sedition, it is always under the pretence of religion. It is well known, these (the preachers) are the bell-weather of the faction, that, under pretence of religion, come there to incense the people to commit all these villanies that sometimes they are incited to do, as we know. How many of them now stand convicted of outlawry for that bloody treason (the Rye-house plot)? I won’t say all parsons, but generally all of them dissenters; and we know these are those base profligate villains, always made use of in these base sinks of rebellion. And they are the common sewers of faction, these conventicles are, and of treason and conspiracy against the government in church and state.”†—“When once they had begun to pick and cull the men that should be returned for a purpose, and got this factious fellow out of one corner, and that pragmatistical, prick-eared, snivelling, whining rascal out of another corner, to prop up the cause, and serve a turn, then truly people’s causes were tried according to the demureness of the looks on the one side or the other, not the justice of the cause. So, if I have a

* Howell’s State Trials, vol. x., p. 1304.

† Ibid. vol. x., pp. 224, 240, 257.

mind to talk against the government, I will not do it aloud, and speak what I mean openly, but I will whine, and snivel, and cant—and under this sort of snivelling, canting, sly rate, do a man any injury whatever.”* On the trial of Algernon Sidney, the same judge said, “This book contains all the malice, and revenge, and treason; that mankind can be guilty of: and the way he makes use of, he colours it with religion, and quotes Scripture for it, too; and you know how far that went in the late times,—how we were for holding our king in chains, and our nobles in fetters of iron.”† Mr Baxter having pleaded, on his trial, that he was moderate in his principles respecting Episcopacy, his lordship exclaimed, “Baxter for bishops! that is a merry conceit indeed!” And his council having referred to a part of his writings, “Ay!” said Jeffreys, “this is your Presbyterian cant, ‘truly called to be bishops,’ that is himself, and such rascals, called to be bishops of Kidderminster, and other such-like places; bishops set apart by such factious, snivelling Presbyterians as himself; a Kidderminster bishop he means, according to the saying of a late learned author, ‘and every parish shall maintain a tythe-pig-metropolitan.’—Richard, Richard, dost thou think we will hear thee poison the court? Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart; every one is as full of sedition (I might say treason) as an egg is full of meat: hadst thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. He is as modest now as can be; but time

* Howell's State Trials, pp. 366, 370.

† Ibid. vol. ix. p. 893.

was when no man was so ready at, 'Bind your kings in chains, and your nobles in fetters of iron,' and, 'To your tents, O Israel!' Gentlemen, for God's sake, don't let us be gulled twice in an age!"*

Nor does our author want worthy and pertinent precedents in Scotland. It would be easy to produce numerous examples to show, that our Scottish statesmen, and judges, and prosecutors, were not behind Jeffreys, in moderation, and clemency, and elegance of mind and manners. Rebels, fanatics, and madmen, were the mildest words which they employed, in speaking of the Presbyterians. The indulged they called moderate fanatics; the non-indulged, wild or mad-cap fanatics. When they dealt with the latter, they aggravated their offence by referring to the conduct of their more moderate brethren; and when the former incurred their displeasure, by transgressing any of their arbitrary restrictions, or scrupling at any of their ensnaring oaths and bonds, they with great liberality told them, that the mad-caps were the most consistent men, and that they ought to betake themselves to the hills. We find the Lord Chancellor telling a prisoner on his trial for life, though a gentleman by birth, that he was "not a Scotsman, but a Scots *beast*." We find him inveighing against a respectable minister, who had done nothing against the laws, as guilty of "a mortal sin, a crime that was sufficient to damn him," because he hesitated to own that the Prince of Wales was the son of James, and heir to his crowns. And when the minister said, "I hope there

* Howell's State Trials, vol. xi. pp. 499, 501.

is more mercy with God than to damn me for ignorance and weakness," we find him replying, "It is enough to damn you, and a thousand with you; for by your calling this in question, (he had not even called it in question), you are guilty of their sin and damnation who follow your example."* "Linlithgow's soldiers" were declared to be good enough jurymen "for fanaticks;" and we find Sir George Mackenzie, the king's advocate, threatening that he would have recourse to them, when certain juries did not find the prisoners guilty at his direction.† On the trial of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock, a witness, upon whom the court chiefly depended, having retracted, when put to his oath, what he had said against the prisoner in his precognition, the gentlemen present could not refrain from expressing their joy; upon which the Lord Advocate said, "that he had never heard such a Presbyterian rore, except on the trial of Shaftesbury; that he had always a kindness for that persuasion, till now that he was convinced, in his conscience, it hugs the most damnable trinket in nature."‡

* Cloud of Witnesses, p. 54. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 642.

† Howell, vol. viii. p. 384.

‡ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 642. There was a close correspondence between the Lord Chief Justice of England and the Privy Council of Scotland, who reckoned it incumbent on them to express a formal approbation of his *bloody campaigns*, and to request his aid in apprehending and delivering up to them such Scotsmen as escaped from their vengeance. This appears from an act of Council, December 3, 1684. "The Advocate representing how ready Judge Jeffreys was to join with the Council for support of the government, it is recommended to him to signify to the Judge, the great resentments [sense] the Council had of his kindness to-

Nor are the author's precedents and authorities confined to the period anterior to the Revolution. When they were restrained from torturing and murdering the Presbyterians, the Scottish Episcopalians and Jacobites, abusing the lenity of a new and tolerant government which they eagerly sought to overturn, took up the pen, and, with hands yet besmeared with the blood of their countrymen, employed it in writing against them calumnious invectives, and scurrilous lampoons, which they industriously circulated in England, where the facts were not known, with the view of instigating the English Church to take part with them, first in preventing, and afterwards in overturning the establishment of Presbytery in Scotland.* The authors of these pamphlets were wards this kingdom, in giving his concurrence against such pernicious rogues and villains who disturb the publick peace, and desiring he may cause apprehend the persons of hiding and fugitive Scotsmen, and deliver them securely on the Scots border, to such as shall be appointed to receive them."—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 350. [According to *Wodrow*, the phrase used by Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate, was "Protestant rore," and not "Presbyterian," as above given.]

* "That which is determined concerning 'all them that will live godly in Christ Jesus,' that they 'must suffer persecution,' is and hath been the lot of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; and a generation of men have thus exercised her for many years, by severities hardly paralleled among Protestants. And now when their hands are tied that they can no more afflict her, their tongues and pens are let loose to tear her without mercy, by the most horrid lies and calumnies that their wit can invent.—Beside this pamphlet, several other prints have been emitted by these men, containing partly historical passages full of lies and reproaches, and partly false and spiteful representations of our

so impudent and brazen-faced as to deny that Presbyterians had been subjected to persecution for their religious opinions, and, at the same time, that they were pleading for a toleration for themselves, to justify all the intolerant and barbarous measures of the two preceding reigns. "He relates," says one of them, "the sufferings of the Presbyterians in the late reigns; and thus indeed is the general cant and grand topic of many of their former and present pasquils against the Episcopal

principles and way; to which an answer, such as they need and deserve, shall ere long be given, if the Lord permit. That this hath not sooner been done, hath been in a great measure caused by the multitude of matters of fact narrated in them, said to be done in divers places of the nation, far remote from one another, to all which it was necessary to send for getting a true account of these things, and there being but one copy of each of these books that we could find in all Scotland, the several passages for the diverse parts of the country behoved to be transcribed and dispersed.—In this matter our adversaries have used a piece of cunning, which is, that these books were spread in England only, where the things contained in them could not be known nor examined; but in Scotland, (where most readers could have discovered the falsehood of their allegations,) there never was one of them to be found in a bookseller's shop. But *veritas non quærit angulos.*" Vindication of the Church of Scotland, (by Principal Rule,) Preface: 2d edit. 1691. When one of the party endeavoured to apologize for this, by alleging that they had not the liberty of the press, nor of importing books, the same author replied: "Those of their railing pamphlets which have been imported never were challenged, none ever came to trouble for them, though we well know who brought them into the kingdom." A just and modest Reproof to a pamphlet called The Scotch Presbyterian Elequence, p. 34.

clergy; whereas they should rather reflect on the then state. Such as suffered were criminal in law; and even hundreds were winked at, and pleaded for by the clergy, who might have divulged and accused them. I could enlarge on this head; but Sir George Mackenzie has so baffled the Presbyterian plea, in his *Vindication of the Reign of King Charles II.*, that it is needless to say any thing till that book be answered, in which, if I remember right, he hath this passage, None dyed for a principle of religion, unless it be a religious principle to dye for actual rebellion.* “Leaving England to answer for itself,” says another, “our author can adduce no instance in Scotland of either man or woman, who, after the Restoration until the Revolution, was either severely used, or put to death, merely on account of their persuasion.”† Indeed this last writer very plainly intimates, that Pres-

* A Short Character of the Presbyterian Spirit, p. 6. 1703.

† Toleration Defended, p. 10, 1703.

A writer already quoted has said with great justice, that such assertions are made “with the same brow, that Maimburg and other French Popish writers do affirm, that all the Protestants who lately in France turned Papists did turn voluntarily without any compulsion; and that no rigour nor persecution hath been used to move them to this change. This is a degree of effrontery, of bidding defiance to truth and the God of it, of bold imposing on the reason, yea, and the common sense of mankind, that the world doth purely owe to this age, and to Jesuitical obduration of mind.—Wo to posterity if they be abused with such false history! It is little honesty to transmit such things to after ages; but it is the height of impudence to publish them among such as were eye-witnesses of them, and among whom the sad effects of them remain with grief and smarting to this day.”—Vindic. ut supra, p. 20.

byterians might expect the renewal of the severities which they had lately endured, if ever Episcopacy was restored. "Though a toleration be granted," says he, "perhaps Prelacy will not be restored; and although Prelacy should be restored, yet Presbyterians (if they please) may forbear to rebel, and so save themselves from scaffolds, imprisonments, and banishments: And so all the author's large harangue on this head is nothing else but ridiculous stuff."*

As Dryden had ridiculed the English Puritans on the stage, our Scottish Episcopalians thought it necessary to attempt something in the same style, and therefore got up a comedy. In their preface to this piece they say: "It may be objected, that for all our pretences to truth and sincerity in matters of fact, yet we talk at random in the last scene, where we make the Presbyterian ministers speak basely and maliciously of all kings.—This is easily answered.—It may be considered that the Presbyterians are enemies to monarchy; for this is the third time that Presbytery has been established in Scotland, and still upon the death or banishment of some of their lawful sovereigns."—"The Chorus is as pertinent as any thing can be, since they are a set of men who never forgive an injury, and, instead of praying for conversion, they pour down curses for the confusion of their enemies. Our design in this essay is fully to represent the villany and folly of the fanatics, that so, when they are in sober mood, they may seriously reflect on them, and repent for what is past, and make amends for the future, *if it be*

* Toleration Defended, pp. 18, 19.

possible; or else that the civil government may be awakened and roused to rid us of this gang, who injuriously treat all good and learned men, and are enemies to human society itself.* The writers were abundantly sanguine in their expectations of success, and dreamed of nothing but blowing up the Presbyterian church by their well-contrived plot. To use their own language:

“ True comedy should honour represent;
I think, for once, we’ve well enough hit on’t,
No character’s too wild, nor yet extravagant;
For there is nothing treated in our play,
But what all know the Whigs do act and say;
Thus yo’ve a taste of their new gospel-way.”

They were, however, disappointed; the Scots saw no truth, and the English no humour in it; those which they had “laid up in store” were not called for; and the authors were obliged to console themselves with the excuse:

“ Our northern country seldom tastes of wit,
The too cold clime is justly blamed for it.”

The truth is, they had mistaken their own talent, which did not lie in comedy, but in tragic scenes; and luckily for the Presbyterians they did not obtain an opportunity of re-acting these. “I’ll tell thee, man, to believe a Presbyterian protestation, is as much as to think a man cannot cheat because he lies. I’m resolved ne’er to trust a fanatic till I get him on the chair of verity, the stone

* The Assembly, or Scotch Reformation, a comedy.

i' the Grass-market; the villain is then tempted to tell something of the truth; that is to say, that he dies a rogue and a rebel.

“ And now, since prayers are so much in vogue,
We will with one conclude this epilogue.
Let the just heav'ns our king and peace restore,
And villains never vex us any more.”*

Passing over, at present, *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, and *The Whigg's Supplication*, we shall finish this chain of authorities by an extract from a work of sober argumentation, in which the following character is given of Presbyterians. “ They are naturally rigid and severe, and therefore conclude that God is such a one as themselves. They damn all who differ from them, and therefore think that God does the same. And because they love themselves, they are pleased to persuade themselves that they are his special favourites. Hence they conclude that they owe them no civilities whom God neglects, nor kind offices whom he hates. He neglects and hates all who are not capable of his grace, which none are (say they) who are not of their way. This wicked persuasion sanctifies not only the ill manners, but, which is worse, the ill nature of the party towards all who differ from them. It contradicts the ends of society and government, and is only calculated to advance the private interest of a partial and designing set of men.”† In the same work it is shown that the Presbyterian spirit is *enthusiastical*—an *animal* or *mechanical* spirit—

* Ibid. p. 4, and epil.

† Rhind's Apology, p. 208.

a *partial* spirit—a *narrow and mean* spirit—a *malicious, unforgiving* spirit—an *unconversible* spirit—a *disloyal, rebellious* spirit—a spirit of *division*—an *unneighbourly, cruel, and barbarous* spirit.*

We have not made these extracts for the purpose of amusing the reader, nor can we be charged with wantonly or unnecessarily exposing the violence of the individuals or party from whose speeches or writings they have been taken. So far as this may be the consequence of the disclosure, it is chargeable on the aggressor, and not on those who act on the defensive, and who are allowed, nay bound, to make use of every legitimate weapon of defence. In the first place, it is of the greatest consequence, in judging of the truth or falsehood of a charge, to inquire exactly into its origin, and to ascertain the character and probable motives of the person or persons who gave rise to it. And this is still more necessary in the case of general prejudices and vague accusations, which are not supported by reference to specific facts. In the second place, we are of opinion, that the quotations which we have made, while they lead to the source of the calumnies circulated against Presbyterians, at the same time discover the grounds on which they rest, and must dispose every candid person to regard them with the strongest suspicion. For example, when we find Jeffries and Sacheverell employing the same language in speaking of the friends of civil and religious liberty in England, which Mackenzie and Rhind applied to the Scots Presbyterians and field preachers, does not

* Rhind's Apology, *passim*.

this afford a strong presumption, that both were actuated by the same motives, and that, whatever circumstantial difference might exist, the grounds of offence given by the objects of persecution and calumny in the two nations, were radically and substantially the same? In the third place, we have quoted from the very authorities upon which the author of the *Tales* has depended in forming his representation. To these, he must be understood as referring, when he tells us, in the enigmatical style of his preliminary discourse, that he has been enabled to “qualify the narratives of Old Mortality and his Cameronian friends, by the reports of more than one descendant of ancient and honourable families—more than one non-juring bishop—here and there a laird or two—and the game-keepers of these gentlemen;” for surely he did not intend his readers to understand him as intimating that he had been guided literally by traditional reports, either on the one side or the other. Lastly, Although the author has not brought forward all the charges contained in these extracts, and has in general expressed them in more temperate language, yet was it necessary to give them at large. It was necessary, because almost every one of them will be found to be insinuated or involved in some part of his representation. It was necessary, to show that some of the authors are totally inadmissible as witnesses in this cause, owing to the malice which they discover against the Presbyterians, and the injuries which they had done them. It was necessary, to show that the evidence given by others of them ought to be received *cum nota*, because they discover deep prejudice, and bear testimony to many things which are

utterly incredible, or notoriously false. And it was necessary, to put the reader in possession of the notions which they attached to the words *puritanism*, *fanaticism*, and *rebellion*, with which they have so liberally aspersed their adversaries.—We now proceed to a more particular examination of the character which the author of the *Tales* has given of the Covenanters.

And, first, of their *puritanism*.—On this topic, the author talks quite at ease, and, we dare say, never dreamed that his representation would be controverted, or that a single question would be put to him on the subject. Accordingly, in speaking of Presbyterians, the use of the epithets *puritanical* and *precise* is just as much a matter of course with him as it is in the West Indies to speak of whites, mulattoes, and people of colour. We are not among the number of those who are disposed to pay much regard to such names,—we can hear them applied to ourselves with indifference, and condemn the ignorant or uncivil sneer with which they may be accompanied. But we know the influence which they have upon the vulgar, both great and small; and we beg leave to offer the author an advice or two on this point. First, It is not very consistent or becoming in one who has ridiculed the Covenanters for calling their opponents Erastians and Papa-Prelatists, to commit the same fault, by bandying terms which are equally reproachful, and of still more loose and indeterminate signification. Secondly, We would advise him not to employ, or, at least, not to repeat names of whose meaning he may not have a distinct and definite idea. We strongly suspect that, if interrogated, his ideas on this subject would be found

as vague and shifting as those of the vulgar are respecting the extreme points of north and south. What is it that constitutes a puritan, or wherein does precisianism lie? Does it lie in scrupling to be present at a wappinshaw, and to shoot at a mark? Does it lie in repining at the use of the Common Prayer-book, the surplice, or the sign of the cross? Or, does it consist in laying claim to perfect spotlessness, or in confining saintship within the pale of a particular church or party? If so, let it be proved that this ever was the sentiment of Presbyterians. Or, were they puritans because they pretended to greater strictness in practice than the court and clergy who persecuted them! This, surely, they might do without being "religious overmuch," or proudly arrogating to themselves any uncommon degrees of holiness.—Again, we would remind the author, that the injudicious use of this senseless term of opprobrium was in former times productive of the most ruinous consequences to those who were so foolish as to encourage the practice. James, who had unadvisedly applied it to the principles of Presbyterians in his Basilicon Doron, found it prudent to retract the imputation, even after he had ascended the English throne. Charles I. was not equally wise. His parasitical and aspiring clergy were encouraged to load his best subjects with this obnoxious charge, until they filled the parliament and the army with puritans, and brought the misguided and unhappy monarch to the block. Untutored by adversity, and incapable of reaping instruction from their father's fate, the two sons of Charles pursued the same infatuated course; while they proscribed and persecuted the most sober and conscienti-

ous part of the nation as seditious and disaffected persons, they employed hireling preachers, poets, and drolls, to deride them as precise bigots and fanatical knaves; and the result was, that the Stuarts were driven from the throne, and, by their merited misfortunes, proclaimed at last to the world who were the real bigots and fanatics. It is no good omen of the present times, that a spirit of the same kind should have been revived.

On this subject we beg leave to quote the words of a sensible author, who wrote immediately before the breaking out of the civil war in England, and who was no Presbyterian. "Let us then," says he, "a little farther search into the mysterious abuse and misapplication of this word Puritan. Those whom we ordinarily call Puritans are men of strict life, and precise opinions, which cannot be hated for any thing but their singularity in zeal and piety; and certainly the number of such men is too small, and their condition too low and dejected: but they which are the devil's chief artificers in abusing this word, when they please can so stretch and extend the same, that scarce any civil honest Protestant, which is hearty and true to his religion, can avoid the aspersion of it; and when they list again, they can so shrink it into a narrow sense, that it shall seem to be aimed at none but monstrous abominable heretics, and miscreants. Thus by its latitude it strikes generally, by its contraction it pierces deeply, by its confused application it deceives invisibly. Small scruples first entitle me to the name of Puritan, and then the name of Puritan entitles me further to all mischief whatsoever."—"There are many men amongst us now which brook bishops and

ceremonies well enough, and perhaps favourably interpret our late innovations; and yet these may be too grave to escape the name of Puritans. To be a Protestant may be allowed, but to dispute against Papists smells of preciseness; to hold the pope fallible is tolerated, but to hold him Antichrist is abominable Puritanism; to go to church is fashionable, but to complain of the mass, or to be grieved at the publick countenance of Popery, whereby it intertwines our religion, and now drinks up that sap which is scarce afforded to Protestantism, or at all to take notice how far some of our divines are hereat conniving, if not co-operating, is a symptom of a deep infected Puritan. He that is not moderate in religion is a Puritan; and he that is not a Cassandrian, or Father Francis Syncter's faith, is not moderate; he savours too much of Calvin's gross learning, exploded now by our finest wits. But I pass from this kind of Puritan to another, whom I shall call my political Puritan; for the bounds of Puritanism are yet larger, and inclose men of other conditions. Some there are yet which perhaps disfavour not at all either ecclesiastical policy, or moderate Papists; and yet, nevertheless, this is not sufficient to acquit them from the name of Puritans, if they ascribe any thing to the laws and liberties of this realm, or hold the prerogative royal, to be limitable by any law whatsoever. If they hold not against parliaments and with ship-money, they are injurious to kings; and to be injurious to kings is *proprium quarto modo* to a Puritan.

"This detested odious name of Puritan first began in the church presently after the Reformation, but now it

extends itself farther, and, gaining strength as it goes, it diffuses its poisonous ignominy farther, and being not contented to gangrene religion, ecclesiastical and civil policy, it now threatens destruction to all morality also. The honest strict demeanour, and civil conversation, which is so eminent in some men, does so upbraid and convince the Antipuritan, that even honesty, strictness, and civility itself, must become disgraceful, or else they which are contrary cannot remain in grace. But, because it is too gross to deride virtue under the name of virtue, therefore other colours are invented, and so the same thing undergoes derision under another name. The zealous man is despised under the name of zealot, the religious honest man has the vizard of an hypocrite and dissembler put upon him to make him odious. My Lord of Downe professes, that the first thing which made him detest the religion of Puritans (besides their gross hypocrisy) was sedition. So, gross hypocrisy, it seems, was the first. What is gross or visible hypocrisy to the bishop, I know not; for I can see no windows or casements in men's breasts, neither do I think him in-dued with St Peter's prophetic spirit whereby to perceive and search into the reins and hearts of hypocrites; but let him proceed: 'It is a plausible matter,' says he, 'with the people to hear men in authority depraved, and to understand of any liberty and power appertaining to themselves. The profession also of extraordinary zeal, and, as it were, contempt of the world, works with the multitude. When they see men go simply in the streets, and bow down their heads like a bulrush, their inward parts burning with deceit, wringing their necks

awry, shaking their heads as if they were in some present grief, lifting up the white of their eyes at the sight of some vanity, giving great groans, crying out against this sin and that sin in their superiors, under colour of long prayers devouring widows and married wives' houses; when the multitude hears and sees such men, they are carried away with a great conceit of them; but if they should judge of these men by their fruits, not by outward appearance, they should find them to be very far from the true religion.' See here the froth of a scurrilous libeller, whereby it is concluded that he that is of severe life, and averse from the common vanities of the time, is an hypocrite. If these descriptions of outward austerity shall not only show what is an hypocrite, but point out also who is an hypocrite, our Saviour himself will hardly escape this description. Doubtless, our Saviour, and many of his devoutest followers, did groan, shake their heads, and lift up their eyes at the sight of some public sins, and vanities, and did not spare to tax the vices of superiors, and to preach to and admonish the meaner sort of the people: yet who but an Annas or Caiaphas will infer from hence, that therefore their inward parts burn with deceit, and that their end is merely to carry away the multitude? such as judge only by outward appearance, and have not their senses exercised to discern betwixt good and evil.

"'Tis a miserable thing to see how far this word Puritan, in an ethical sense, dilates itself. Heretofore it was Puritanical to abstain from small sins; but now 'tis so to abstain from gross open sins. In the mouth of a drunkard, he is a Puritan that refuseth his cups; in

the mouth of a swearer, he that fears an oath; in the mouth of a libertine, he that makes any scruple of common sins; in the mouth of a rude soldier, he that wisheth the Scotch war at end without blood. It is sufficient that such men think themselves tacitly checked and affronted by the unblameable conversation of Puritans." —"The Papist, we see, hates one kind of Puritans, the hierarchist another, the court-sycophant another, the sensual libertine another; yet all hate a Puritan, and under the same name many times hate the same thing. In the year of grace 1588, when the Spanish armada had miscarried, notwithstanding that his Holiness of Rome had so peremptorily christened it, and as it were conjured for it, one of that religion was strangely dis-tempered at it, and his speech was, as 'tis reported, God himself was turned Lutheran; by which, for certain, he meant heretical. 'Tis much therefore that my Lord of Downe, now that Episcopacy is so foiled in Scotland, has not raged in the like manner, and charged God of turning Puritan; but surely, if he has spared God, he has not spared anything else that is good; and if he has spared to call God Puritan, he has not spared to call Puritan devil. But, to conclude, if the confused misapplication of this foul word Puritan be not reformed in England, and that with speed, we can expect nothing but a sudden universal downfall of all goodness whatsoever."*

The author of the *Tales* is not more sparing in the

* [A Discourse concerning Puritans, pp. 8, 41, 50, 54, 57. Printed 1641.]

use of this term of reproach, and others of similar import, than his predecessors were. The Puritan whom he exposes, is not one who scruples at a few indifferent ceremonies, or who superciliously condemns all harmless recreations—he is one who refuses conformity to any kind of religion which may be enjoined by his superiors, or who is so squeamish as to stickle at occasionally transgressing the rules of decency, or laws that are vulgarly reckoned divine. Thus he introduces his hero as saying to Burley, “My uncle is of opinion, that we enjoy a reasonable freedom of conscience under the indulged clergymen, and I *must necessarily* be guided by his sentiments respecting the choice of a place of worship for his family.” (Vol. ii. p. 92). This is passive obedience with a witness! to the utter prostration of the rights of conscience, and leading to all the extent of the wicked principle of Hobbes! The disciples of that philosopher boasted of his discovery as calculated to put an end to religious persecution. Yes, it is so; but it is at the expense of banishing all religion and all morality from the world, and reducing man to the level of a brute. Upon this principle, a person not only may, but “must necessarily” be a Papist at Rome, a Mahomedan at Constantinople, and a Pagan at Pekin; for surely it will not be pleaded, that less obedience is due to the supreme government of a country than to an uncle. If the author really meant what his words natively suggest, and if he intended to express his own sentiments by the mouth of his hero, then we cease to wonder at the partiality which he has shown to an oppressive government, and his want of sympathy for the objects of persecution. There is an-

other instance to which we must refer, as a commentary upon the author's sentiments respecting puritanism and precision. In describing the scene at Milnwood, when visited by a military party, he informs us, that "the agony of his avarice," at the thoughts of parting with his money, overcame old Morton's "puritanic precision." And how did this appear? By his making use of one of the most vulgar, gross, and indecent words which one can apply to a woman—so indecent, that the author, or his printer, could express it only by giving the initial and final letters, and, when he afterward introduces a trooper as using the same word, judged it fit to drop one of these! (Vol. ii. pp. 189, 243.) *Ex ungue leonem*. Such are the refined and liberal notions of the author of the Tales! It is "puritanic precision" to boggle at an indecent expression; and it argues the same weakness of mind, no question, to scruple at taking the name or word of God in vain. And yet this is the gentleman who complains that the Covenanters wanted "good manners"—who derides the coarse and vulgar dialect of their preachers, and is the advocate for elegant studies and accomplishments!

The author seems to have forgotten, that he is not living in the days of Charles II., and that the religion of the Covenanters has now obtained the sanction of the national laws, and is the established religion of his country. We beg leave to inform him, if he does not already know it, that every thing for which the Covenanters contended, both in point of principle and of practice, is contained in the standards of the national church. These were composed in pursuance of the Solemn League and

Covenant, by the Assembly of Divines which met at Westminster, under the authority of the parliament of England, and during the civil war. They explicitly contain the Calvinistic tenets, and the doctrine concerning, what he is pleased to denominate, "a judicial observance of the Sabbath;" they respect the parity of ministers of the gospel, in opposition to prelatic hierarchy; and, in opposition to Erastian encroachments by civil rulers, they assert that Christ is the alone King and Head of his church, and that he has appointed a government in it distinct from the civil magistrate, who "may not assume to himself the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven." These, according to the author's own showing, embrace all the leading articles which the Covenanters maintained, and for adhering to which they suffered. If, therefore, there is any justice or force in his ridicule, the weight of it must fall upon the established religion of Scotland. It is this which he has all along been deriding under the name of puritanism and precisianism. If he disapproves of it, he is at liberty to do so; let him bring forth his strong reasons, and they shall be examined: but whether it is decent and becoming in him to hold up its principles to derision, as if they were unworthy of serious argument, we shall leave the public to judge, when the cause is fairly before them.

If he shall say that he has not ridiculed these principles, but merely the conduct of those men who maintained them in former times,—we deny this; and we add, that these constitute the merits of the cause; and, provided they are cleared from misrepresentation, the

portion of ridicule which remains in the Tale will turn out to be excessively trifling and childish. What did our Presbyterian ancestors do, but maintain their religious profession, and defend their rights and privileges, against the attempts which were made to wrest these from them? This was the body and front of their offending. And were they not entitled to act this part? Were they not bound to do it? What although, in discharging this arduous duty, in times of unexampled trial, they were guilty of partial irregularities, and some of them of individual crimes? What although the language in which they expressed themselves was homely, and appears to our ears coarse, and unsuitable to the subject? What although they gave a great prominence to some points, and laid a greater stress on articles than we may now think they were entitled to? What although they discovered an immoderate heat and irritation of spirit, considering the barbarous and brutal manner in which they had long been treated? What although they fell into parties, and quarrelled among themselves, when we consider the crafty and insidious measures employed by their adversaries to disunite them—and when we can perceive them actuated by honesty and principle, even in the greatest errors into which they were betrayed? These, granting them to be all true, may form a proper subject for sober statement, and for cool animadversion; but never for turning the whole of their conduct into ridicule, or treating them with scurrilous buffoonery. No enlightened friend to civil and religious liberty—no person, whose moral and humane feelings have not been warped by the most

lamentable party-prejudices, would ever think of treating them in this manner. They were sufferers—they were suffering unjustly—they were demanding only what they were entitled to enjoy—they persevered in their demands until they were successful—and to their disinterested struggles, and their astonishing perseverance, we are indebted, under God, for the blessings which we enjoy. And we can assure our author, that his statements are not so correct, nor his ridicule so well directed and powerful, as to deter us from their vindication.

We may add, though the observation is of inferior moment, that the author is here guilty of a violation of propriety, in a literary point of view. He has been pleased to send his book into the world as the work of the usher of one of our parochial schools, edited and arranged by his patron, the “schoolmaster and parish-clerk.” Now, all our parochial teachers are bound by law to subscribe the Confession of the national church. Yet the schoolmaster of Gandercleugh publishes, with high encomiums, a work which is intended to ridicule as puritanical, the principles of that Church of which he is a member, and of those standards to which he is supposed to have given the seal of his approbation. If decorum of character is thus sacrificed to the gratification of a freak, we need not be surprised to find it violated for the sake of gaining higher ends.

But we proceed to consider the charge of *enthusiasm* and *superstitious fanaticism*. The judicious reader will perceive, that several of the remarks already made are applicable to this topic of declamation. We shall separate

the charge of superstition from that of fanaticism. There can be no doubt that the author intended to ridicule the superstitious and puritanical preciseness of the Covenanters, by imposing scripture-names upon the fictitious characters of the party that he has introduced. Thus, *Silas Morton*, *Gabriel Kettledrummy*, *Ephraim Macbriar*, *Habakkuk Mucklewrath*. He borrowed this from the English plays written in derision of the Puritans. But if he had taken time to examine into the fact, he would have found that the Presbyterians of Scotland were not then addicted to this practice, any more than they are at present. This was perhaps beneath his notice,—moreover, it would have spoiled a great part of his humour; for it is evident, that the sound of a name is with him a high point of wit. Of the same species of just ridicule and accurate representation, is his practice of making the covenanting interlocutors *thee* and *thou* one another, and withhold the title of Mr from those whom they address, as if they had adopted the precise principle of the Quakers on this head! (Vol. iii., pp. 152—8, *et passim*). Yet, in his usual self-contradictory way, he introduces them in other places as declaiming against Quakerism. This he does, to be sure, to ridicule them as persons who were continually inveighing against all sects but their own; without knowing, or at least without letting his readers know, that they were necessitated to be more explicit in such disavowals, by the artful malice of their adversaries, who imputed the tenets of Quakerism to them, because they refused the ensnaring oaths imposed by government.

But the author has in reserve a stronger proof of the

superstition of the Covenanters, which we may not be able so easily to set aside or evade. They firmly believed that certain men, if not also beasts, were gifted by the enemy of mankind with preternatural means of defence, and that it was impossible to shoot them, at least with lead! While Burley reacted in his dream the bloody scene of Archbishop Sharp's murder, he exclaimed, "Fire-arms will not prevail against him;—strike—thrust with the cold iron." (Vol. ii., p. 123.) But the best description of this trait in the Covenanting character, is in the account of Claverhouse's behaviour at the battle of Drumclog.

"The *superstitious fanatics*, who looked upon him as a man gifted by the Evil Spirit with supernatural means of defence, averred that they saw the bullets recoil from his jack boots and buff coat, like hailstones from a rock of granite, as he galloped to and fro amid the storm of the battle. Many a Whig that day loaded his musket with a dollar cut into slugs, in order that a silver bullet (such was their belief) might bring down the persecutor of the holy Kirk, on whom lead had no power. 'Try him with the cold steel,' was the cry at every renewed charge—'powder is wasted on him.—Ye might as well shoot at the old Enemy himsel.'—Vol. iii., p. 369.

Before replying to this, we shall make the author's case a little stronger. We learn from "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed," that the Presbyterian preachers made the people believe that "the bishops were all cloven-footed," and that "the generality of the Presbyterian rabble in the west will not believe that bishops have any shadow, as an earnest of the substance,

for their opposing of covenant work in the land." It is true that Dr Gilbert Rule affirms that he never before heard that any Presbyterian entertained such a thought. But we shall be more liberal to our author, and take it for granted, that what he has stated is true. He must be understood, then, as meaning that the belief of such preternatural powers was peculiar to the Covenanters, else it could be no reason for characterizing them as "superstitious fanatics." But what will he say, if we can produce the example of a whole parliament at that period gravely giving their sanction to an opinion at least equally incredible? In the attainder of the Marquis of Argyll for high treason, one of the heaviest articles of charge against him is supported by the following miraculous proof. "Insomuch that the Lord from heaven did declare his wrath and displeasure against the afore-said inhuman cruelty, by striking the tree whereon they were hanged, in the said month of June, being a lively fresh growing ash tree, at the kirk yard of Denoon, amongst many other fresh trees with leaves, the Lord struck the same tree immediately thereafter, so that the whole leaves fell from it, and the tree withered, never bearing leaf thereafter, remaining so for the space of two years; which being cut down, there sprung out of the very heart of the root thereof, a spring like unto blood poppling up, running in several streams, all over the root, and that for several years thereafter, until the said murderers, or their favourers, perceiving that it was remarked by persons of all ranks, (resorting there to see the miracle), they did cause hock out the root, cover-

ing the whole up with earth, which was full of the said matter like blood.”* If this example does not suffice, we shall give another, from a writer whose principles are akin to those of our author. Mr Scott, in a note to the “Lady of the Lake,” after adducing a great number of facts in support of the *taisch*, or preternatural gift of *second sight*, concludes rather reluctantly, and not without some symptoms of scrupulosity: “But, in despite of evidence, which neither Bacon, Boyle, nor Johnson were able to resist, the *taisch*, with all its visionary properties, seems now to be universally abandoned to the use of poetry.”† It certainly was not the design of Mr Scott to represent the philosophers to whom he alludes as men of weak and superstitious minds, merely because they had not emancipated themselves from a popular prejudice. And we are inclined to think, that the author of the Tales will now be sensible of the rashness of his censure. But if he shall still be disposed stoutly to affirm that the Covenanters were “superstitious fanatics,” we shall leave him to contest the point with the shades of “Bacon, Boyle, and Johnson.”

“The eagle saw her breast was wounded sore,
 She stood and wept much, but grieved more:
 But when she saw the dart was feather’d, said,
 Woe’s me, for my own kind hath me destroy’d.”

Among all the terms of reproach which are ordinarily employed to excite contempt or odium against an individual or a party, there are none more vague, or used

* Howel’s State Trials, vol. v., p. 1384.

† Note vi. to Canto first.

with less sense and discretion, than enthusiasm and fanaticism. They serve the same purpose against the friends of religion, that sedition and leasing-making have often done against the best friends of the state, when employed by profligate ministers and their base supporters, to stigmatize and run down all who oppose their corrupt measures and pernicious plans. Every pert infidel, every superficial sciolist, every conceited witling, every elegant trifler in prose or in verse, thinks he has a right to apply the names of enthusiast and fanatic to persons who are greatly superior to him in intellect, and in all rational and useful information. While such persons "set their mouth against the heavens" in affronting God, "their tongue walketh through the earth," in reviling those who bear his image, who seek to obey him, and are zealous for his rights and honour. Were they to think rationally but for a moment, they would be ashamed to "speak evil of the things which they know not." No sensible and modest person will be forward in interposing his judgment as to any art or science of which he is ignorant, which he has not made it his business to study, and for which, instead of having a relish, he may feel a repugnance, especially in relation to a point contested among those of the same profession. And why should it be otherwise in religion, to the obligations and feelings of which there are so many who are notoriously and lamentably insensible and dead? What right can he, who perhaps never looked into the Bible except for the purpose of turning it into a jest-book, who never performed an act of devotion except from hypocrisy or fashion's sake, who, during the whole course of his life,

never spent a serious moment on the subject of religion, —what right can such a person have, or what capacity has he, to judge between the genuine, though ardent, emotions of a devout breast, and the reveries and irregular fervours of a heated or disturbed imagination?

Nor is this incapacity confined to those who labour under an absolute destitution of religious principle and feeling. A man may not be blind, and yet he may be incapable to judge correctly of the imitative beauties of the pencil; he may not be deaf, and yet he may have no ear for musical harmony; he may be a parent, a brother, and a citizen, and yet be exceedingly deficient in parental, generous, and patriotic feeling. To such a person, the emotions expressed, the zeal that is testified, the interest that is taken, the sacrifices that are made by the devoted lover of painting, music, kindred, and country, will appear to be disproportioned, extravagant, unreasonable, ridiculous, and, in one word, enthusiastical. And he would say so, provided he was not restrained by habit, or by prudential deference to general feeling, and provided he was not taught to correct his erroneous conclusions by attentive observation, and the rigid exercise of his reasoning powers. Let a person whose ear is not attuned to harmony join a company of musical inamoratos—let him listen to them while they converse in the dialect peculiar to their art, and while they give an unrestrained vent to their emotions—let him attentively observe them while they are enjoying the indescribable charms of the full and varied concert—let him mark their gestures—the expressions of their countenance—the signs of ravishment which they exhibit, while they

now lift their eyes to the heavens, as if they were totally abstracted from sublunary things, and anon quench and seal up the visual orbs, as if they were determined never again to open them to the light of day—the tremulous thrill which pervades and agitates their whole frame—their soft sussurations, gradually rising into more audible murmurs, or abruptly bursting into an ecstatic peal—the languishing attitudes into which they throw themselves, and their dying falls—not to mention the grimaces, the contortions of feature, the antic airs and gesticulations, or the whining tones which some of them are accustomed to assume,—let the spectator who has no accordant or sympathetic feeling, and who has never thought seriously on the subject, observe all this, and let him express his genuine sentiments, and we have no doubt that they will correspond to the statement which we have given. But we must leave it to the intelligent reader to apply this illustration to the expressions of devout feeling and evangelical experience, under the modifications which the nature of the subject will suggest.

Do we then deny that there was any enthusiasm or fanaticism among the Covenanters? We do not. None who is acquainted with human nature, or with the history of mankind and of the church, would expect this in the circumstances in which they were placed. We know, that during the latter part of the persecution, a small sect arose called Gibbites, or Sweet Singers, whose opinions and practices were in a high degree extravagant and impious; but they were disowned by the whole body of Presbyterians, were always few in number, and

soon melted away. And it is much to the credit of the people of Scotland, in point of intelligence and soundness of religious principle, that not only at this time, when their spirits were much heated, but also during the interregnum, when innumerable sects, many of them holding the most fantastic opinions, sprung up in the neighbouring kingdom, none of these appeared (a few converts to Quakerism excepted) in this country. We know also, that, after the battle of Bothwell-bridge, a number of Presbyterians, under the conduct of Cameron and Cargill, proceeded formally to disown the government, and advanced opinions respecting the essential qualifications of magistrates in a reformed land, and respecting the extraordinary execution of justice by private individuals, which were unjustifiable and dangerous. But if we examine the matter with candour, we will find, that they were driven to these extremes by the intolerable oppression of government; and that their errors proceeded from their understandings being perplexed by intricate questions, which were in some respects forced upon them, in circumstances certainly not favourable to cool and dispassionate investigation, and not at all, as their adversaries alleged, from principles of disloyalty and insubordination, or any desire to gratify their passions by involving the nation in anarchy and blood. We will find them retracting, explaining, or modifying their declarations, or particular expressions in them, which were most obnoxious to blame, or of whose dangerous tendency they became convinced; a behaviour no way resembling that of fanatics, who are inflamed by contradiction, and plunge from one excess into a greater. In fine, they

were in other respects, as a body, sober and pious men, desirous of living peaceably, and who afterwards did live peaceably under a government which knew how to treat them with lenity. "Oppression makes a wise man mad," but it does not convert him into a madman; as the torture does not make an honest man a liar, although it may extort from him a falsehood. Let the violent pressure which, for the moment, overcame him be removed, and he will return to his wonted sobriety and self-command, and act like any other man. Besides, the followers of Cameron formed but a very small part of the Covenanters of Scotland.

With respect to the field-preachers in general, and those who adhered to them, it may be allowed that their religious feelings were wound up to a high pitch. Every thing in their situation contributed to produce this effect,—the sufferings that they had endured—the dangers to which they were exposed—the jeopardy in which their life stood every hour—the hair-breadth escapes which they made—the wild scenery of the spots on which they assembled to perform their religious services, with the many affecting recollections with which it was associated,—all served to raise their minds to an uncommon degree of fervour. But still there was not enthusiasm, in the bad sense of the expression. It was a high tone of excitement which has been felt by the noblest, the purest, and the most enlightened minds—by patriots, who have stood forth, in times of danger, to defend the injured rights of their country—and by confessors, who have been raised up, in times of defection, to plead for the more sacred rights of their God. Such

were the feelings of the prophet, when, in similar circumstances, he said, "I have been VERY JEALOUS for the Lord of Hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword, and I, even I only am left, and they seek my life to take it away." Weaknesses or excesses are often mingled with the best and most pious feelings—the exercise of Elijah was not exempted from these—but still they are too sacred to be rudely touched by the profane hand. How differently does the same subject affect different minds! The author of *The Sabbath* selected the character of the Covenanters for the warmest encomium; the author of *The Tales* has fixed on it as deserving the most unsparing censure. To the eye of the former, a conventicle presented a subject for the finest poetic description; in the eye of the latter, it is an object of derision and merriment. The former viewed it as an assembly of men who were met to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, at the peril of all that was dear to them on earth; the latter can see nothing in it but a tumultuous gathering of discontented and fiery spirits, held in defiance of law, and with the intention of resisting the lawful exercise of authority. The former describes the field-preachers as dividing "the bread of life" to their hearers, and administering to them those heavenly consolations which were peculiarly adapted to the situation of hardship and peril in which they were placed; the latter represents them as fosterers of the wildest fanaticism, and trumpeters of sedition and rebellion. The one was charmed with the ardent and sincere piety that breathed

from the lips of the speaker, and beamed on the delighted countenances of his hearers, as "o'er their souls his accents soothing came;" the other seeks entertainment by discovering matters for ridicule in the preacher's tones and gestures, and in the coarse garb and humble appearance of the greater part of his audience. The picture exhibited by the one is solemn, pleasing, and deeply interesting; that which is held out by the other is mean, vulgar, and disgusting. Both cannot be genuine representations; no one will doubt for a moment which of the two displays the finest feelings in the artist; and whether the poet or the humorist has kept most closely to the truth of nature, may appear in some degree from what follows.

The character given of the Covenanters, in the persons of Mause and Kettledrummle, are in a style of such glaring and extravagant caricature, that we would not have deemed it necessary to notice them, farther than by expressing our astonishment that any writer should have risked his reputation by publishing such representations, had it not been that we are aware of the ignorance that prevails on this subject, even with many who are otherwise well-informed persons. On this account we condescend to enter on the subject. The author's ridicule turns chiefly upon the following points,—that their ordinary conversation was interlarded with Scripture phrases—that they were guilty of gross and ludicrous misapplications of these—that they were constantly harping upon certain cant terms, expressive of their party opinions, or relating to their ecclesiastical disputes—and that the style in which their preachers

usually indulged was mean, coarse, incoherent, and rhapsodical.

The people of Scotland, since the Reformation, have been always well acquainted with their Bible, and it was the natural consequence of this, that its language should mingle with their speech, and give a tone to their conversation and mode of thinking. This, instead of being discreditable, is highly honourable to them, and has contributed, more than many are aware of, to raise their character, in point of intelligence, above that of the lower orders in any other country. Strangers have remarked the fact, and have been astonished at it, while they were ignorant of the cause. A ploughman in Scotland is not, what he is everywhere else, a clown, according to the idea which that term usually suggests; and this distinction he owes chiefly to his familiar acquaintance with his Bible, which he has been accustomed to read, or to hear read, from his childhood. When he has been so much indebted to it, why should he be hindered from quoting it, or exposed to ridicule for employing its phraseology, provided this is done without an intention or a tendency to burlesque or profane it? With this qualification, we may assert that the Bible is to the common people what the writings of Homer are to the learned; and every person of good feeling will be as much pleased to hear them adopting a phrase, or quoting a verse, with propriety, from the Scriptures, as to hear a person of literature making the same use of the Greek or Roman classics. By *propriety* we mean, not elegance and point, but such justness as may be expected from persons in their condition. Among the

better informed part even of the English nation, during the seventeenth century, Scripture language was so far from being uncommon, that we find it used very liberally in both houses of parliament. The speech of Lord Falkland, on the question respecting Episcopacy, and of Lord Shaftesbury, respecting the state of Scotland, in which he not only quoted, but commented on a passage in the *Song of Solomon*, are well known proofs of this.* Nor is the practice altogether gone into desuetude in the present time, among persons who would not take it well to be ranked with enthusiasts or fanatics. We could mention more than one of our modern poets, who have borrowed some of their finest passages from the Bible, and made their descriptions "more impressive by the orientalism of Scripture," although they have not thought it proper to make those acknowledgments of the debt which they are forward to render to every old ballad or musty play. Our Poet Laureate,† too, can scarcely compose three sentences in prose without a Scripture phrase or allusion. And his example has been imitated of late among ourselves, accompanied with an evident attempt to excel him in this quality of style. In the following extracts, we have specimens of *typical*, *allegorical*, and *prophetical* applications;—an enumeration which nearly comprises all the senses of Scripture allowed by Popish interpreters. "It seemed that Bonaparte, on his retirement to Elba, had carried away with him all the offences of the French people, like the scape-

* Rushworth, vol. i. chap. 3, p. 182; Wodrow, vol. ii. App. No. 4.

† [Robert Southey, Esq.]

goat which the Levitical law directed to be driven into the wilderness, loaden with the sins of the children of Israel.”* “Still, from the disaffection of the soldiers, and the discontent of the revolutionists, there arose, even in the halcyon months of the restoration, a cloud on the political horizon, at first as small as that seen by the prophet from Mount Carmel, but which ceased not to increase, until the monarch of France, like the king of Israel of old, betook himself to his chariots and horses, and was fain to seek for shelter till the storm passed away.”† “The shower of honour and emoluments fell above, below, and around, but it reached not Sir Thomas Picton, whose name and fortunes, like the fleece of Gideon, remained unmoistened by the dew that distilled on all others.”‡ After speaking of the miserable result of all that has been done for Spain, the author adds, “But deeply convinced, as we are, that as yet ‘*the end is not*,’ we shall proceed to detail those unexpected and deplorable events,” &c.§ If not intended, it is a striking coincidence, that the *Tales of my Landlord* should have appeared so seasonably, as an antidote to this disposition to puritanical enthusiasm; and we can scarcely help suspecting, that the sermon of Ephraim Macbriar, in particular, is a concealed satire upon the following passage of an address of the City of Edinburgh. “It is with far other thoughts, and far happier prospects, that we now again lay our duty at the feet of

* *Edinburgh Annual Register*, vol. vii. p. 290. [The *Annual Register* was then under Scott’s management.]

† [*Ibid.* p. 293.]

‡ [*Ibid.* p. 335.]

§ [*Ibid.* p. 317.]

your Royal Highness, with feelings which can be likened to none but those of the survivors of the primeval world, when, looking forth from the vessel in which they had been miraculously preserved, they perceived that God had closed, in his mercy, the fountains of the deep, which he had opened in his wrath; that the wind had passed over the waters and assuaged their force; while the re-appearance of ancient and well-known mountains and land-marks, hidden so long under the billows of the inundation, warranted a just and purer confidence that the hour of its fury had passed away.”*

But perhaps the fault of the Covenanters did not lie in their liberal use of Scripture, but in the unnatural, extravagant, and ridiculous applications which they made of it. We are afraid that it will be difficult to exculpate some of the extracts which we have given above from this charge; and it would be easy for us to produce recent examples of a still more glaring kind. What would the reader think of a passage of Scripture relating to the redemption of mankind, and the exaltation of our Saviour, being formally applied to the conclusion of the late war, and the restoration of the Bourbons? Yet this has been done by one who is neither a Whig nor a Presbyterian.† With respect to the ludicrous perversions of Scripture by the Covenanters, they

* Address of the City of Edinburgh to the Prince Regent, in December 1813. [This Address was composed by Sir Walter, then Mr Scott.—Lockhart’s Life of Scott, vol. iii. p. 108.]

† Sermon on Psalm cxviii. 23, by the Rev. James Walker, St Peter’s Chapel, Edinburgh, 7th July 1814. [The words are, “This is the Lord’s doing; it is marvellous in our eyes!”]

are the pure fictions of the author of the Tales. We do not recollect to have anywhere met with a more bare-faced attempt to impose upon the public. All unprejudiced persons, even those who have no favour for Presbyterians, have been obliged to admit the exaggeration; and those who are acquainted with the subject know, that, with the exception of a few phrases which have been gathered from the books of the Covenanters, and inserted as best served the author's purpose, the whole representation is fanciful and false. We have particularly in our eye at present the speeches put into the mouth of Mause and the preacher on the road to Loudon-hill; although the remark is by no means confined to that scene. We have selected it because it affords us an opportunity of bringing the author's statement to the test, and enabling the reader to judge of its truth or falsehood. Two years after the period to which the Tales relate, when persecution had inflamed the minds of the sufferers to a much higher degree, two women who had embraced the sentiments of Cameron and Cargill, were executed at Edinburgh. Let the reader peruse their examinations and dying speeches, which are preserved, and compare them with the speeches and behaviour of Mause, and he will perceive at once the truth of our averment.* The language of these sufferers is such as might be expected from unlettered females, but it is such as does not disgrace the common people of Scotland. The inquisitorial interrogatories of the court discovered that they had imbibed one or two opinions of

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 77-93.

an extravagant and dangerous nature; but their manner of avowing these was sober, and even dignified, compared with the behaviour of their judges and accusers. The following is part of the examination of Isabel Alison, written by her own hand with an artless simplicity. "The bishop said, Wherein is our doctrine erroneous? I said, That was better debated already than a poor lass could debate it. They said, Your ministers do not approve of these things; and ye have said more than your ministers; for your ministers have brought you on to these opinions, and left you there. I said, They had cast in baits among the ministers, and harled them aside; and although ministers say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, we are not obliged to follow them in that. Then they said they pitied me; for (said they) we find reason, and quick wit in you; and they desired me to take it to advisement. I told them, I had been advising on it these seven years, and I hope not to change now. They inquired, mockingly, if I lectured any? I answered, Quakers used to do so. They asked, if I did own Presbyterian principles? I answered, that I did. They asked if I was distempered? I told them I was always solid in the wit that God had given me. Lastly, they asked my name. I told them if they had staged me they might remember my name.—Then they caused bring *Sanquhair Declaration*, and the paper found on Mr Richard Cameron, and the papers taken at the Queen's Ferry, and asked if I would adhere to them. I said I would, as they were according to the Scriptures, and I saw not wherein they did contradict them. They asked if ever Mr Welsh or Mr Riddell taught me

these principles. I answered, I would be far in the wrong to speak any thing that might wrong them. Then they bade me take heed what I was saying, for it was upon life and death that I was questioned. I asked them if they would have me to lie. I would not quit one truth though it would purchase my life a thousand years, which ye cannot purchase, nor promise me an hour. They said, When saw ye the two Hendersons and John Balfour? Seeing ye love ingenuity, will ye be ingenuous and tell us if ye saw them since the death of the Bishop? I said, They appeared publicly within the land since. They asked if I conversed with them within these twelve months? at which I kepted silence. They urged me to say either Yes or Nay. I answered, Yes. Then they said, Your blood be on your own head; we shall be free of it. I answered, So said Pilate; but it was a question if it was so: but ye have nothing to say against me but for owning of Christ's truths and his persecuted members; to which they answered nothing. Then they desired me to subscribe what I owned. I refused, and they did it for me."* We have appealed to a case the most favourable to our author, in order that we might prove, *à fortiori*, the falsity of his representation; for otherwise we do not allow that the principles of these women afford a fair specimen of those which were held by the great body of the Covenanters who attended field conventicles at the period to which the Tales refer.

We can bring the matter to a still more direct and decisive test, with respect to the character of Gabriel Ket-

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 78-80.

tledrummle. Under this name, there can be no question that the author had his eye upon Mr John King. For we know, from history, that he was the minister taken prisoner by Claverhouse on the morning of the battle of Drumclog, led as a prisoner to the field, and released by the victorious Covenanters, in the manner described by the author. Now, King was again taken prisoner after the battle of Bothwell, and was executed; and we have an account of his trial, and the speech which he wrote and delivered before his death.* The perusal of these will convince every reader that the author has been guilty of most inexcusable and outrageous misrepresentation. The author describes him as one of the boufeus of the party, as inflaming the multitude to the highest pitch, defending "the mingled ravings of madness and atrocity," and supporting those who insisted on disowning the authority of Charles.† Contrast with this the following declaration by King immediately before his execution. "The Lord knows, who is the searcher of hearts, that neither my design nor practice was against his majesty's person and just government, but I always intended to be loyal to lawful authority in the Lord. I thank God, my heart doth not condemn me of any disloyalty; I have been loyal, and do recommend it to all to be obedient to higher powers in the Lord. And that I preached at field meetings, which is the other ground of my sentence, I am so far from acknowledging that the gospel preached that way was a rendezvous in re-

* Naphtali, p. 466, edit. 1, 693. Wodrow, ii. 83-86.

† Vol. ii pp. 102, 162, 178, 188; iv. 10.

bellion, (as it is termed), that I bless the Lord that ever counted me worthy to be a witness to such meetings, which have been so wonderfully countenanced and owned, not only to the conviction, but even to the conversion of many thousands; yea, I do assert, that if the Lord hath had a purer church and people in this land than another, it hath been in and among these meetings in fields and houses, so much now despised by some, and persecuted by others. That I preached up rebellion and rising in arms against authority, I bless the Lord my conscience doth not condemn me in this, it never being my design; if I could have preached Christ and salvation in his name, that was my work, and herein have I walked according to the light and rule of the word of God, and as it did become (though one of the meanest) a minister of the gospel. I have been looked on by some, and misrepresented by others, that I have been of a divisive and factious humour, and one that stirred up division in the church; but I am hopeful, that ye will give me charity, being within a little to stand before my Judge, and *I pray the Lord that he will forgive them that did so misrepresent me*: But I thank the Lord, whatever men did say of me concerning this, that upon the contrary, I have often dissuaded from such ways, and of this my conscience bears me witness." His last words were: "Now I bid farewell with all my friends and dear relations. Farewell, my poor wife and child, whom I leave on the good hand of him who is better than seven husbands, and will be a father to the fatherless. Farewell, all creature comforts, and welcome everlasting life, everlasting glory, everlasting love, and everlasting praise. Bless the Lord

O my soul, and all that is within me."* If it should be alleged that the author did not intend to confine himself to a description of the character of King, this shift will avail little. For Mr Kid, another minister who suffered along with him, expressed himself in the same terms.† Nay, of all the ministers who were at Bothwell, (and there were at least fourteen there), there were not above two who differed from Mr King in this respect, and the high and violent measures proposed were urged chiefly by a few private gentlemen, and especially by Robert Hamilton, a forward young man, who had got himself introduced to the chief command of the Covenanting army. We may afterward advert to this fact more particularly, but we cannot omit at present calling the attention of our readers to it, because it is of very considerable importance; and it has, we apprehend, been misstated, not only by the author of the *Tales*, but also by several of our historians.

Even when the author wished to relieve his picture, and intended to describe individuals among the Covenanters as displaying some talent, or possessing some good qualities, he has blundered and betrayed his ignorance. Thus, in the sermon of Macbriar, he has made the preacher utter a sentiment which was universally rejected by Presbyterians, when he makes him tell his audience, "*Who-so will deserve immortal fame in this world, and eternal happiness in that which is to come, let them enter into God's service,*" &c. (Vol. iii. p. 110.) A similar breach

* Naphtali, pp. 468-470, 476.

† Ibid. p. 458.

of decorum of character occurs in his description of the humane Covenanter, widow Maclure, whom he introduces as repeatedly banning and mincing oaths in her conversation! (Vol. iv. p. 275, 278, 281.) Far be it from us to derogate from the talents of our great author; but the truth is (and he should have been aware of it), whatever talent a person may possess for buffoonery, he will not succeed in mimicking those with whose manners he is unacquainted. He has seen and conversed with old gentlewomen of Tory principles, gallant officers, drunken soldiers, butlers, and innkeepers; but he has not fallen into the company of religious people; and, accordingly, he has failed completely in taking off their likeness, and in imitating their language and manners. To cull a few phrases from Scripture, and scraps from this sermon and that dying speech, and to form the whole into a cento, has doubtless something ludicrous in it; and we do not question that it will move the laughter of the good friends whom the author professes himself to have been so much indebted to for his materials, as well as the surviving old maidens of the ever-memorable *Forty-five*, especially if he should himself recite it in that snuffling, whining, canting tone which Judge Jeffreys erst acted so admirably in the Court of King's Bench. But we can scarcely persuade ourselves that he ever seriously thought it would pass in the world either for wit or humour. If the persons whom he intended to expose were to rise up and be desired to look upon their picture, they would smile at his failure, provided it were possible for them not to be shocked at his profaneness.

We have declined hitherto calling the author to account

for his profane use of the sacred writings, because we wished, before doing this, to show that our censure did not proceed from displeasure at his wit, and to anticipate an apology which we knew would be made for his conduct. It is frequently urged, that such freedoms with sacred subjects are necessary to preserve propriety of character; and it may be alleged on the present occasion, that the author has only represented the abuse which was made of Scripture by the Covenanters, and that they, and not he, must be answerable for the profanation. We cannot admit the justice of this apology. Those who talk most about sustaining propriety of character, can neglect it on very slight occasions. It is no plea for indecency, and why should it be so for profanity? There may sometimes be a propriety in exposing the extravagant and ridiculous misapplications of Scripture made by individuals or by a religious sect; but we do not know that this can ever be justifiably done in a work of amusement, intended for all classes of readers, and ordinarily perused in a state of mind which unfits persons for discriminating between the abuse and the thing abused, and for coolly judging whether the author's ridicule is well or ill-founded. The author of the *Tales* has placed at the head of one of his chapters a quotation from the *Alchymist*, which we presume he regarded as a prototype and authority. We beg leave to quote, as well worthy of his attention on this subject, the opinion of one whose authority stands deservedly high both in law and in morality. "I remember (says Lord Justice Hale,) that when Ben Johnson, in his play of the *Alchymist*, introduced Anartus in derision of the Puritans, with many of their phrases taken out of Scripture, in order to

render that people ridiculous, the play was *detested* and *abhorred*, because it seemed to reproach religion itself; but now, when the Presbyterians were brought upon the stage in their peculiar habits, and with their distinguishing phrases of Scripture exposed to the laughter of spectators, it met with approbation and applause."*

But we are under no necessity of having recourse to

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 440.

The excess to which profaneness and blasphemy were carried in the days of Charles II., we could scarcely credit, were it not attested by the most unexceptionable authority. And all under the pretext of withstanding fanaticism! A letter from Dr John Wallis to the Hon. Mr Boyle, giving an account of the opening of Archbishop Sheldon's theatre at Oxford, contains the following particulars: "Then a letter of thanks to be sent from the university to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our *creator* and *redeemer*, for having not only built a theatre for the act, but, which is more, *delivered the blessed Virgin from being so profaned for the future*: He doth (as the words of the letter are) *non tantum condere, hoc est creare, sed etiam redimere*. These words (I confess) stopped my mouth from giving a *placet* to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have since desired Mr Vice-chancellor to consider, whether they were not liable to a just exception. He did at first excuse it; but, upon further thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them, before the letter be sent and registered. After the voting of this letter, Dr South (an university orator) made a long oration; the first part of which consisted of satirical invectives against Cromwell, fanatics, the royal society, and new philosophy. The next of encomiasticks; in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, the vice-chancellor, the architect, and the painter. The last of execrations; against fanatics, conventicles, comprehension, and new philosophy; damning them *ad inferos, ad gehennam*. The oration being ended, some honorary degrees were conferred, and the convocation dissolved. The afternoon was

this argument in the present case. The author is guilty of wantonly abusing Scripture, not in a few, but in numerous instances throughout his work, without his being able to justify himself by an appeal to the practice of the Covenanters. We may refer to the exclamations of Mause (vol. iii. p. 77,) and to Langcale's summoning the castle of Tillietudlem "with the butt end of a sermon," by "uplifting with a stentorian voice, a verse of the 24th Psalm," in metre, which is given at length, (vol. iii. p. 143.) Such descriptions are quite out of nature, and so extravagant, as to be mere ludicrous applications of Scripture language, such as no person who had any due reverence for it could indulge in, and as will give pleasure to an infidel reader, not because they afford a true or spirited delineation of character, but because they gratify his disposition to laugh at the Bible. Still worse, if possible, are the exclamations put into the mouths of Mause and Kettledrummle on approaching Drumclog, (vol. iii. pp. 32, 33.) The prostitution of Scripture, in the first of these instances, is accompanied with a display of great want of delicacy and feeling for an old woman in the circumstances described; and in the last instance it is aggravated by the consideration, that the words used are part of a description expressly and repeatedly applied in the New Testament to the sufferings of the Saviour of men. We believe that the author was not aware of this; but what stronger proof can be given of his rashness in intruding into things which he knows not, and unspent in panegyrick orations, and reciting of poems in several sorts of verse, composed in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, &c., and crying down fanatics." *Ib.* pp. 442, 443.

taking a task which he is incapable of performing well? He tells us, that "these exclamations (of the two prisoners) excited shouts of laughter among their military attendants; but events soon occurred which rendered them all sufficiently serious." He no doubt expected that his description would excite similar shouts of laughter among his readers; and we have only to express our wish, that he may soon seriously reflect on the subject, and expunge those passages from his work, which otherwise will remain as a stain upon it, which all the applause of the thoughtless and unprincipled will not be able to cancel.

"But what do you say to the charge against the Covenanting preachers, and the coarse, vulgar, and incoherent strain of their sermons?" We say that we are not ashamed of them. We say that, if we had been then alive, we would have been among their hearers. We say that the Presbyterians in general were incomparably the best preachers at that time in Scotland. And with respect to such of them as were forced to preach in the fields, we think we can say enough to silence the silly clamour which has been raised as to their sermons. Who would require polish, or expect accurate and laboured composition, from men who were driven from their homes, and destitute of all accommodations; who were obliged to remove from one part of the country to another, to escape the unremitting search of their persecutors, who durst not remain above one night in a house, and had often to conceal themselves in woods and caverns? The Covenanting preachers were not in the habit of preaching extempore; they maintained no such principle as that the extraordinary aids of the Spirit rendered study

or preparation unnecessary; but they would have acted a criminal and a weak part, if, in the circumstances in which they were then placed, they had refused to preach upon premeditation, or even extemporaneously, provided an unexpected opportunity offered itself. The conventicles were a principal means of preserving the cause of religion and liberty in this country; and it was of the greatest consequence that they should be maintained. It has been well said, that when the banners which the field preachers kept waving on the mountains of Scotland, and which, when dropped by one, were taken up and displayed by another, were desecrated in Holland, they convinced William that the spirit of freedom and of resistance was not extinct, and encouraged him to hazard the attempt which issued in the deliverance of Britain. Contracted and "cold are the selfish hearts," which can perceive nothing to admire in the conduct of such men, and which can only indulge in puling complaints that their sermons did not display good taste, and were devoid of elegant frippery. Such as excel most in these superficial accomplishments, are often deficient in firmness and fortitude, and are ready to act the part of those effeminate soldiers who deserted their colours lest the sword of the enemy should disfigure their pretty countenances. Had they been present, the dread of concealed informers, or apprehensions of the approach of the military, would have dissipated all the fine flowers of rhetoric which they had collected, and made "their tongue to cleave to the roof of their mouth." These were not the men for the times. It was not elegant diction, apt similes, well-turned periods, or elaborate rea-

sonings, that the people who frequented conventicles needed. They needed to be taught the word of God, to be confirmed in the truths for which they were called to suffer, and to have their minds prepared for that death with which they were daily threatened. What they wanted they obtained from their preachers, to whom they listened with emotions of delight, and with a tone of high feeling, to which those who ignorantly deride them have no pulse that beats responsive.

“ In solitudes like these
Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foil'd
A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws:
There, leaning on his spear,—
The lyart veteran heard the word of God,
By CAMERON thundered, or by RENWICK poured
In gentle stream.

O'er their souls
His accents soothing came,—as to her young
The heathfowl's plumes, when at the close of eve
She, mournful, gathers in her brood, dispersed
By murderous sport, and o'er the remnant spreads
Fondly her wings; close nestling 'neath her breast
They cherished cower amid the purple blooms.”

We do not admit that the sermons of the field preachers were ridiculously mean and incoherent. If this had been the case, we do not believe that our Melvilles, our Crawfords, our Cardrosses, our Loudons, our Maxwells, our Cesnocks, our Polwarts, and our Jerviswoods, gentlemen of good education, and some of them possessed of very cultivated minds, would have countenanced them, and subjected themselves to fines for hearing them preach,

or allowing them to preach in their houses. The field preachers had all received a liberal education, several of them were gentlemen by birth,* and others of them are known to have been highly respectable for their talents. One of the first acts of William, after he was established on the throne, was to appoint Mr Thomas Hog, whom he had known in Holland, one of his chaplains, and Mr Forrester was about the same time made a professor in one of our universities. The sermons preached at conventicles, which are ordinarily circulated, are a very unsafe rule by which to judge of the talents of the preachers and the quality of the discourses which they actually delivered. We have never been able to ascertain that one of these was published during the life-time of the author, or from notes written by himself. They were printed from notes taken by the hearers, and we may easily conceive how imperfect and inaccurate these must often have been. We have now before us two sermons by Mr Welsh, printed at different times; and upon reading them, no person could suppose that they were preached by the same individual. The one has little substance, and abounds with exclamations and repetitions; the other is a sensible and well-arranged discourse, and free from the faults of the other. We have no doubt that the memory of Mr Peden has been injured in the same way. The collection of prophecies that goes under his name is not authentic; and we have before us some of his letters, which place his talents in a very different

* Mr Archibald Riddel, son of Sir Walter Riddel, Mr Gabriel Semple, son of Sir Bryce Semple, Mr Blackadder of Tulliallan, and Mr Fraser of Brae.

light from the idea given of it in what are called his Sermons and his Life. It was natural, though injudicious, in well-meaning people, after the Revolution, to publish whatever came in their way, bearing to have been preached or spoken by men whom they revered so highly for their zeal, piety, faithfulness, and constancy in suffering. And it is well-known, that many eminent persons have suffered severely in their reputation from similar conduct on the part of their warm and rash admirers. We do not mean by this to retract what we formerly conceded, nor to deny that some of the field preachers indulged in a style too familiar and colloquial, and were apt to employ phrases and comparisons which suggest ideas that are degrading. But we maintain that this fault was not peculiar to them or to the Presbyterian church, and that it is less disgusting and less hurtful to the great ends of preaching, than either the scholastic pedantry, or the affected finery and florid bombast which have more frequently infected the pulpit, and disfigured the sermons of those who have been most disposed to exclaim against Presbyterian vulgarity.*

Here we intended to have closed this part of our review, when the *British Critic* for January was put into our hands. This contains a review of the *Tales of my Landlord*, which induces us to make an addition to what we have said on the sermons of the Covenanters. •

* We had formerly occasion to make some remarks on this subject.—*Christian Instructor*, vol. vii. pp. 415—417. [These remarks are contained in “a Review of the *Quarterly Review*, No. XVIII. Article, *M’Crie’s Life of Knox*,” in which the hand of Dr M’Crie occasionally appears, particularly in the pages referred to.]

From the known high-church tone of this Journal, we were prepared to expect that the tale of *Old Mortality* would be greeted by its conductors with a cordial and affectionate welcome, and that they would be prepared at once to subscribe to all its statements, and to become heralds of its praises. They have even outdone our expectations; for they have improved upon the author's representation, and have pointed out the practical application of his instructions to the present times, which he was either not aware of, or too prudent and too modest to notice. After a circumstantial account, "collected from the best historians," of the assassination of Archbishop Sharp,—“a murder which, for cowardice and cruelty, has scarcely a parallel in the history of the civilized world,”—the dispassionate and well-informed critic goes on to say; “Emboldened by the success of their first enterprise in blood, they began to *preach* (for all their leaders were preachers) *the general assassination of their enemies, and every pulpit rung with the examples of Jael and Sisera, of Ehud and Eglon.*” The Duke of Monmouth “met them on Bothwell-bridge in full force, their army being now increased to 8000 men. *After a desperate resistance, they were repulsed,*” &c. “Such was the rebellion, of which the tale of *Old Mortality* is an historical sketch.” Having given various extracts from the Tale, in which the anecdote respecting “the barn fanners” is not forgotten, and having panegyricized Claverhouse, whose character is said to be “drawn with no less spirit than fidelity,” the critic makes the following general remarks, to which we beg the particular attention of our readers:—

"In times like these, when the spirit of fanaticism is abroad, and gathering the most fearful strength, the tale before us will be read with a deep and a foreboding interest. With the Bible in the one hand, and the sword in the other, did these wretched victims of enthusiasm march forth to slaughter and to blood. Fraud, rapine, and murder, in their minds, were consecrated by the cause in which they were engaged, and by the gospel under whose banners they supposed themselves enlisted. To the knowledge of Christ, like the fanatics of modern days, they laid an exclusive claim, and that claim they enforced by the breach of every command of charity and love which their heavenly Master so earnestly inculcated.

"To many of our readers, the sermons and speeches which these volumes contain, may appear a caricature rather than a portrait. We can assure them, however, that they are a very faithful transcript of the cant of those times. We have now before us a book published in 1719, entitled, 'Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence,' &c., another of nearly the same date, called, 'A Century of Presbyterian Preachers,' in which will be found many discourses of the same nature. In the latter of these, extracts are given from *published* sermons, a few of which we will present to our readers." P. 94.

Having given short extracts from two or three sermons preached before the Long Parliament, the *Critic* adds:—

"From these few specimens of *real* covenanting eloquence, our readers will not imagine the picture before them to be a distortion or a caricature; the portrait is executed by too faithful and too well instructed a pen."

— "We must pronounce it to be a tale, which, from the spirit of the composition, the truth of the colouring, and the warning which it holds out to this church and nation, demands a most serious and attentive consideration." Pp. 95, 97.

If there are any of our readers who doubted as to the pernicious tendency of the *Tales*, or as to the propriety of the notice which we have taken of them, the extracts which we have now given, must have removed their doubts. Here we perceive that the old spirit of malignancy was not dead, but only asleep, and ready to spring up whenever the least encouragement was given to it. The war-whoop is sounded against fanaticism—the fanatics of former times are identified with those of the present time—and the mad attempt is renewed of accusing persons holding certain religious principles of abetting designs of the worst kind. Before reading this article we were apprehensive that we had dwelt too long upon some of the topics treated in the preceding pages; but now we are satisfied that there was need for enlarging instead of retrenchment. We do not mean to expose the gross misrepresentations of historical fact in the review, as we afterwards may have an opportunity of considering the charges affecting the moral character of the Covenanters. At present, we confine ourselves to what the critic says of their sermons. We had previously looked out a number of passages in the sermons of Episcopalians, English and Scots, to set in opposition to the representation which the author of the *Tales* has given of Presbyterian preaching. But although we were fully aware of the tendency of his work, and the handle that would be made of it, yet, being averse to recrimination, and aware of the delicacy of the subject, we laid them aside, and resolved to suppress them. But after the attack which has been made by the organ of the high-church party, we consider ourselves as imperiously called

upon to bring them forward. It may be of some use in checking their disposition to have recourse to this method of abuse, to show them that Episcopalians have preached from the pulpit, and published from the press, things far more unsuitable, ridiculous, extravagant, vulgar, and violent, than ever were uttered by Presbyterian preachers.

We shall begin with the Lord Bishop of London. The following extracts are from a sermon which his Lordship preached, on occasion of the marriage of the Princess Royal, and which accordingly may be supposed to have been none of his worst. The text is Psalm cxxviii. 3, "Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine by the sides of thy house."—" *Uxor tua* may well be the subject of the proposition, for it is the subject, the *prior terminus*, the ὑποκειμενον, that is substantiall, fundamentall term of all mankind, της εις τον βιον εισοδου θυρα, the gate of entrance into living. Hence began the world; *God builded the woman*, (*ædificat costam, finxit hominem*: man was *figmentum*, woman *ædificium*, an artificiall building) and from the rafter or planke of this rib is the world. Therefore was Heva called *mater viventium*, the mother of the living: *quia mortali generai immortalitatem parit*, she is the meanes to continue a kind of immortalitie amongst the mortal sonnes of men. No sooner was *man* made, but presently also a *woman*, not *animal occasionatum*, a creature upon occasion, nor *mas læsus*, a male with maime and imperfection, &c."—" *Vir* and *uxor*, man and wife, are *primum par*, *fundamentum parium*, the first original match of all others. All other

couples and paires, as father and sonne, maister and servant, king and subject, come out of this paire. The beginning of families, cities, countries, continents, the whole habitable world, the militant, yea, and triumphant church, *mater matris ecclesiæ*, the mother of the mother church, of no small part of the kingdome of heaven, is *uxor tua*, this subject of my text, out of this combination, at all springeth. No marriage, no men; no marriage, no saints. *The wife* is the mother of virgins that are no wives; (*Laudo connubium quia generat virgines*, saith Hierome γυναικομαστῖς) no generation, no regeneration; no multiplying beneath, no multiplying above; no filling the earth, not so much filling the heavens; if not *filiī seculi*, neither will there be *filiī cœli*.”—“We have found the treasure, wee must adde the cabinet to keep the treasure. *Thy wife*, not *uxor vestra*, one woman to many men, against the doctrine of the Nicolaitans; not *uxores tuæ*, many women to one man, against the encroachment of Lamech; not *uxor tua et non tua*, to take and leave, put on and put off, as thou doest thy coat. *Uxor tua*, is as much to say, as *tu et uxor*, *uxor et tu*, no more, no fewer, no other, &c.”—“*Sicut vitis abundans*. If there were nothing more than *sicut*, that word alone might suffice. The woman at her first creation was made to be a *sicut*, &c.”—“*Sicut vitis*.” A tree and a man or a woman, how nearly do they symbolise. The roote of the tree is the mouth to convey it nourishment; the pith or heart of the tree is the matrice, belly, or bowels; the knots, the nerves; the fissures or concavities, the veines; the rinde, the skinne; the boughs, the

armes and limms; the sprigges, the fingers; the leaves, the haire; the fruit, unlesse the tree be barren, the children," &c., &c.*

Our next extract shall be from *The Merchant Royall*, preached at the marriage of a Scots nobleman, "the Right Honourable the Lord Hay." The text is Proverbs xxxi. 14, "Shee is like a merchant ship, she bringeth her food from afarre."—"Shee is like a ship," &c. "Shee is indeed, and yet shee scarce is, and therefore because shee is so scarce, it was needful to show, not onely what she is, but also what shee is like to; for how shall hee find her that never saw her, that never had her, that scarce heard of her; how shall hee find her, but by some sensible resemblance of her? and therefore, as Canticle v., when the Church cried her husband, (I charge you, &c.,) shee described him by resemblance; *My well beloved is white and ruddie*, &c. : every thing was like something, so of the virtuous woman it is said here that shee is like a shippe; and Proverbs xii. shee is like a crowne; and in the Canticles sometimes like a rose, sometimes like a lilly, sometimes like a spring of waters: In a word, she is like to many thinges; but as it is said, verse 10, *Pearles and precious stones are not like to her*."—"If she be good, she is like a ship indeed, and to nothing so like as to a shippe; for she sits at the sterne, and by discretion as by carde and compasse shapes her course; her countenance and conversation are ballased with sobernesse and gravitie; her sailes

* *Vitis Palatina*. A sermon appointed to be preached at Whitehall upon the Tuesday after the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth her Grace, by the Bishop of London, 1614.

are full of wind, as if some wisdom from above had inspired or blowne upon her; she standeth in the shrowdes, and casteth out her leade, and when she hath sounded, she telleth (as Michol did to David) of depth and danger. If by default she be ground, she casteth out her ancors, (as Rahab did,) and by winding of herselfe, shee gets afloat againe. If she spy within her kenning any trouble to bee nigh, either shee makes forward, if shee find herself able, or else with Pilat's wife she sets saile away. She commands and countermands each man to his charge, some to their tackling, some to the mast, some to the maine top; as if shee, and none but shee, were captaine, owner, master of the ship; and yet she is not master, but master's mate. A royall shippe shee is, for the king himself takes pleasure in her beauty, Psalm xlv.; and if shee bee a merchant's too, then is shee the merchant's royall."—"But of all qualities, a woman must not have one quality of a ship, and that is, too much rigging. Oh what a wonder it is to see a ship under saile, with her tacklings, and her masts, and her tops and top-gallants, with her upper decks and her nether decks, and so bedeckt with her streames, flags, and ensignes, and I know not what. Yea, but a world of wonders it is, to see a woman created in God's image, so miscreate oftentimes and deformed, with her French, her Spanish, and her foolish fashions, that he that made her, when he lookes upon her, shall hardly know her with her plumes, her fans, and a silken vizard, with a ruffe like a saile, yea a ruffe like a raine bow, with a feather in her cap like a flag in her top, to tell (I thinke) which way the wind will blow."—"Shee is like a ship of

merchants; therefore first to be reckoned (as yee see) among the laytie; not like a fisher-man's boat, not like St Peter's ship, for Christ did call noe she-apostles." —"Shee is like a merchant ship, that is, a friendly fellow and peaceable companion to him, but not a man of war to contend with him. For he that made her never built her for battaile; sure shee was built for peace and not for warre, for merchants weepe to thinke of warre; therefore she must not, for every angry word of her husband, betake herself into the gun-roome straight, and there to thunder, to charge and discharge upon him, with broad swords, or, as mariners say at sea, to turne the broad side, like Zipporah, the wife of Moses, to raile upon him, 'Thou art indeed a bloody husband,' Exod. iv. This is no ship of merchants, this is the *Spite*, I thinke," &c.—"But what meaneth Solomon by that, *From a farre, she bringeth her food from a farre*? Surely not to answere that which is proverbially said, that far fetcht and deare bought is fittest for ladies, as now a daies, what groweth at home is base and homely, and what every one eates is meate for dogs; and wee must have bread from one countrie, and drinke from another, and we must have meat from Spain, and sauce out of Italie; and if we weare anything, it must be pure Venetian, Roman, or Barbarian; but the fashion of all must be French; and as Seneca saith in another case, *victi victoribus leges dederunt*, wee give them the foile and they give us the fashion. Therefore this was not Solomon's meaning, but *from a farre* either hath respect to the time, *a longinquo tempore*, as it seemeth to be expounded in the very next words, *she riseth while it is yet*

night, and giveth the portion to her household, &c. Hee doth not say shee meeteth it at the doore, as shee that riseth to dinner, and then thinkes her daies work halfe done, and for every fit of an idle fever betakes her straight to her cabbín again; and if her finger but ake, shee must have one stand by to feede her with a spoone; this is no ship of merchants, this is the *Mary Slug*," &c.—
 "Ladies and gentlemen, I beseech you mistake me not, and impute no partiality to me. If I have said any thing sharpely, yet know, I have said nothing against the good, but all against evil women; yea, nothing against the sex, but all against the sinnes of women," &c.*

The Incomparable Jewel may furnish another specimen of Episcopalian eloquence. In the "Epistle Dedicatorie," the author says: "The historicall narration calls for not onely a *Tullian* orator, but for a *Tertullian*, to shew it to life; and that requires a just volume too. For if there be a mercuriall quillibet, who can, in his quodlibeticall capacity, comprehend an immensitie, or in his sublimated braine define an infinity, or in his stupendious presumption dares take upon him to relate an *infandum* (and of such a Utopian *minus* I utterly despaire), then may it be as well shewed how two minds may breathe in one breast, and one mind may live in two hearts."

The text is Prov. xxxi. 10. "Who can find a vertuous woman? For her price is farre above rubies."

* *The Merchant Royal*. A Sermon preached at Whitehall, before the King's Majesty, at the Nuptials of the Right Honorable the Lord Hay and his Lady, upon Jan. 7th, 1607.

“The *Quære* as an inlet runs into foure rills. The first is the indefiniteness of the question : *Who ?* Who, I say, among all ? Secondly, the difficultie of the question : *Who can ?* which, albeit, it be difficult, yet it is feasible ; for an act tending thereunto is implied, *Who can finde ?* which implies seeking. Some by seeking find them *sans question* : the reason is manifest ; for the evangelical precept *seeke*, hath an evangelicall promise annexed, *and ye shall finde*. Thirdly, the subject, or rather object : What ? *A Woman*. *Who can finde a woman ?* Alas ! what more easie to finde than that creature. She is no *Ostium Nili*. Yea, but that’s not all. The quality is the question, and that’s the knot : *Who can find a vertuous woman ?* which is the fourth rill that the *quære* runs into.”

“The *Quare* is rationall, and discloseth itself into five parcels. For, first, God’s wisdom resembles her to a jewell in the generall : Secondly, to a rubie, in particular : Thirdly, in pluralitie, to rubies : Fourthly, superlatively, above rubies : Fifthly, and lastly, super-superlatively, farre above rubies. This is the *quare*, and herein I finde pricelesnesse.”

“A vitious woman, and death, are two of the bitterest things in the world. The case is all one with the comique conceit : The day that a man marrieth such an one, is all one as if his friend should bid him goe home and hang himselfe. Such a monster as shee is, shall be brought out into the congregation, and examination shall be had of her children ; her children shall not take root, and her branches shall bring forth no fruit ; a shameful report shall shee leave, and the stinke of her reproach

shall not be put out. A vitious woman in her choleric mood is a *pyromantick* divell; in her melancholy and sullen fits, a *geomantick* hobgoblin; in her phlegmatic disposition, a *hydromantick* hydra; and in her sanguine and best condition, an *æromantick* mushrome. *Concipit æthera mente; mens levior vento*,—tossed up and down with every fancie. I have read of Cardanus his father, how hee conjured up seven divels at once. Hee that marrieth a vitious wife hath no need to send to a conjurer; he shall see the seven deadly sinnes ruling, reigning, and raging in his empousa, as the seven divels in Mary Magdelene, while she was yet no convert. The poor man then hath no remedie but prayer and patience, and fast he must too; for this kinde of divels goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.”

“Weigh your wives, then, good men, you that have them.”—“If they prove counterfeit and light, surely they are not pearls but bugles, light every way. In their heeles like the corke there; in their heads like the feather in their caps; and in their hands like their foolish fanne. If you meet with such, sing,

Quid levius Pluma? Flamen: quid Flamine? Flamma:

Quid Flamma? Mulier: quid Muliere? o.

“The *Hieroglyphiques* describe and pourtraite a woman sitting upon a shell-snaile, when they would signify a good housewife; for as that creature carries the house upon its back, so the good housewife will keep an house over her head, and stay within doors, unless she have urgent occasions abroad. She is not of the tribe of *Gad*, to be a gadder abroad causelessly, as commonly they doe who are such gadders, and come home crackt, as did wan-

dring Dinah the daughter of Jacob, when she went gadding to see the fashions of the country."

"Doe you think that you are vertuous women in these and such like fantasticks? Or when you get upon one joynt of your least finger a Sardonix, a Smaragd, a Jasper, and a diamond, as the fond, foolish, phantastick courtier Stella in Martial is said to wear? or when, like *Lollia Paulina*, ye go beset and bedeckt all over with emerauds and pearles ranged in rowes one by another round about your Tires, Caules, Borders, Pernges of haire, Boongraces, Chaplets, Carcanets, upon your wrists in Bracelets, upon your fingers with rings? that yee glitter and shine again as yee mince along; that with all these can you make of yourselves, but idle housewives and idols of vanity?"

"Let the case be put, that this vertuous man finds a vertuous wife. O how sweet is that conjunction! the blessing is doubled to either, the relation is Cherubbical, the reflection Seraphicall, the consummation of their loves Angellicall."*

"As King Richard bestowed himselfe diversly at his death, so must wee in life. Bohemia claimes a part in our loue, the Palatinate a part, the churches abroad, our brethren at home, a part: at home, in selling we must be buyers, in lending borrowers, in visiting patients, in comforting mourners; abroad, we must in our owne peace consider their warres, feele them panting, see them bleeding, heare them scriching, 'O husband, O wife, O my child, my child, O mother, mother, mother, my fa-

* The Incomparable Jewell, 1632.

ther is slaine, my brother is torne, my legge is off, my guts be out, halfe dead, halfe aliue, worse than either, because neither.' O that wee had heartes to bleede over them, and to pray for the peace of Ierusalem."—"Yes, you Lawyers (to instance) must be common blessings, and not seeke your owne ; you must (with Papinian) reiect bad causes, and ripen good ; there goes but a paire of sheares between a protracting Lawyer and cheating Mountebanke, that sets his client backward and foreward like a man at chesse, and proves a Butcher to the sillie sheepe, which ran to him from the Grasier."—"You Landlords must be common too:—a poore man in his house is like a snayle in his shell, crush that and you kill him; say, therefore, with thy selfe, my Tenant is a man, not a beast; were he a beast, yet a righteous man is mercifull to his beast, a breeding bird must not have her nest destroyd, a yong kidd must not be sod in his mothers milke : what will become of me and mine, if I destroy the nest of breeding Christians, and having chopt them to the pot, seethe old and yong in one anothers blood ?"*

In the Epistle Dedicatory of his Two Sermons to the Lower House of Parliament, 1624, Mr Thomas Taylor says : "Whereas the Babylonians have mightily increased of late in their hopes, numbers, and strength, not onely those forraigne frogs and Locusts, the Priests and Iesuites, have in great armies invaded our Countrey, but our home-adversaries have greatly multiplied, and Recusants

* Harris's Sermon at St Paul's Crosse on the last of June, 1622.

risen up everie where with great hopes of raising up the ruinous wals of Ierico againe : We (fearing lest these sonnes of Zeruiah may grow too strong for us) doe trust and pray, that your wisdomes provide that these Frogs may be taken away from us and our people, and confined to their owne sea and rivers, for the heaps of them stinke in the land : that their merchandise be vendible no more, that their base coines bee no more currant amongst us, nor such strange children (brats of Babylon) nourished any more amongst us, unlesse they will doe as the Kenites who joyned to the Iewes.

“Looke backe, worthy Gentlemen, upon the zeale and former love of your famous predecessors, who pulled downe the nests of these Antichristian birds. Cause the uncleane birds that flutter againe about us, with some hopes to roust and nestle among us, (if that only would serve their turnes) to know the prudence and circumspection of so grave, wise, and godly a Senate.”

In the first sermon, entitled, *Fly out of Romish Babel*, he says, “Here Rome and Babylon, for the similitude and resemblance with it, so as one egge is not liker another than Rome and Babylon.”—“For assistance we may lend Babylon no hand to uphold her, we are commanded not to seeke the prosperity of Babel all our daies; because the Lord hath devoted her to destruction, but especially those whose hands and swords God hath sanctified to this purpose : whensoeuer God shall put it into their hearts, they want neither charge nor calling to reward her as she hath rewarded them : as she hath levied forces against the Princes of the earth, so must they levie forces against her ; and the cup of death and wrath

which she hath filled to them, they must fill her the double."

The second sermon, entitled, *The Utter Ruine of Romish Amalek*, has the following passages: "We never want a valorous and victorious Ioshua, to lead us and fight for us against Amalek. That Ioshua was a Noble Generall, with whom the Lord was, and none was able to stand before him, so as he set his foot on the necks of five kings at once; but he was but a type and shadow of our Ioshua, a mighty Captaine, and an heavenly Leader, that great Michael, that treadeth upon the necks of all Kings and Tyrants that rise up in armes against him and his people."—"As Israel had not only Ioshua fighting in the valley, but also Moses praying on the hill; so wee have many Mosesses lifting up hands and praiers, which are powerfull and prevalent against Amalek."

If it be alleged that the sermons from which we have quoted were delivered during the first half of the 17th century, and that the mode of English preaching was greatly improved, we shall give a few specimens of what was preached during the reign of Charles II. And we shall do this in the language of an orthodox son of the Church of England, Dr John Eachard. "It seems pretty hard (says the Doctor) at first sight, to bring into a sermon all the circles of the globe, and all the frightfull tearms of astronomy. But, I'll assure you, Sir, it is to be done, because it has been; but not by every bungler and ordinary text-divider, but by a man of great cunning and experience." Of this the Doctor gives a specimen from a sermon on the prophecy of Malachi, chap. iv. verse 2, "But unto you that fear my name, shall the sun of

righteousness arise with healing in his wings : From which words, in the first place, it plainly appears, that the sun of righteousness passed through all the twelve signs of the zodiack : And more than that, too, all proved by very apt and familiar places of Scripture. First, then, he was in Aries ; or else what means that of the Psalmist ? ‘The mountains skipped like rams, and the little hills like lambs.’ And again, that in the second of the Kings, chap. iii. verse 4. ‘And Mesha king of Moab was a sheep-master, and rendered unto the king of Israel an hundred thousand lambs :’ and what follows ? ‘and an hundred thousand rams, with the whool.’ Mind it ; it was the king of Israel. In like manner, was he in Taurus, Psalm xxii. 12. ‘Many bulls have compassed me : strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round.’ They were not ordinary bulls : they were encompassing bulls, they were besetting bulls, they were strong Bashan bulls. What need I speak of Gemini ? Surely you cannot but remember Jacob and Esau, Gen. xxv. 24. ‘And when her days to be delivered were fulfilled, behold there were twins in her womb.’ Or of Cancer ? when, as the Psalmist says so plainly : ‘What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest ? thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back ?’ Nothing more plain. It were as easie to shew the like in all the rest of the signs.”—“O how it tickled the divider when he had got his text into those two excellent branches ; *accusatio vera : comminatio severa*. A charge full of verity : a discharge full of severity. And I’ll warrant you that did not please a little, viz., there is in the words *duplex miraculum ; miraculum in modo ;* and

miraculum in nodo. But the luckiest that I have met withal, both for wit and keeping the letter, is upon those words of St Matthew xii. 43, 44, 45. 'When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and finding none. Then he saith, I will return,' &c. In which words all these strange things were found out. First, there was a captain and a castle. Do ye see, Sir, the same letter? Then there was an ingress, an egress; and a regress, or re-ingress. Then there was unroosting and unresting. Then there was number and name, manner and measure, trouble and tryall, resolution and revolution, assaults and assassination, voidness and vacuity. This was done at the same time, by the same man: but, to confess the truth of it, 'twas a good long text, and so he had the greater advantage."—"But for a short text, that certainly was the greatest break that ever was; which was occasioned from those words of St Luke xxiii. 28: 'Weep not for me, weep for yourselves;' or, as some read it, 'but weep for yourselves.' It is a plain case, Sir, here's but eight words, and the business was so cunningly ordered, that there sprung ont eight parts: 'Here are,' sayes the Doctor, 'eight words, and eight parts. 1. Weep not. 2. But weep. 3. Weep not, but weep. 4. Weep for me. 5. For yourselves. 6. For me, for yourselves. 7. Weep not for me. 8. But weep for yourselves.'"—"Neither ought he to be altogether slighted, who taking that of Gen. xlviii. 2 for his text, viz., 'And one told Jacob and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee;' presently perceived and made it out to the people, that 'his text was a spiritual dial.

For,' sayes he, 'here be in my text twelve words, which do plainly represent the twelve hours. Twelve words : And one told Jacob, and said, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee. And here is besides, *Behold*, which is the hand of the dial, that turns and points at every word in the text. And one told Jacob, and said, behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee. For it is not said, behold Jacob, or behold Joseph : But it is, And one told Jacob, and said, behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee. That is to say : Behold and. Behold one, behold told. Behold Jacob. Again : Behold and. Behold said. (And also :) Behold, behold, &c. Which is the reason that this word *behold* is placed in the middle of the other twelve words, indifferently pointing at each word. Now, as it needs must be one of the clock before it can be two or three ; so I shall handle this word *and*, the first word in the text, before I meddle with the following. *And* one told Jacob. This word *and* is but a particle, and a small one ; but small things are not to be despised. St Matt. xviii. 10 : 'Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones.' For this *and* is as the tackes and loops amongst the curtains of the tabernacle. The tackes put into the loops did couple the curtains of the tent, and sew the tent together. So this particle *and* being put into the loops of the words immediately before the text, does couple the text to the foregoing verse, and sewes them close together."*

The following specimen of orthodox and loyal preach-

* The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy, pp. 53, 67, 68, 69. Lond. 1670.

ing by divines of the Church of England, during the Long Parliament, should have been inserted before the extracts furnished by Dr Eachard. But it would be unpardonable to omit it altogether; as, besides preserving a very curious anecdote respecting Border antiquities, it contains one of the most edifying reasons for passive obedience, and one of the most pleasant apologies for persecution, that our readers probably have any where met with. Dr Stephens, in a sermon preached at St Mary's, Cambridge, in 1642, on Judges *xxi. 25*, says, "I have heard the prophet David suspected by some as partial in his own cause, just like the Northern Borderers, who conceived the eighth commandment, 'Thou shalt not steall,' to be none of God's making, but foisted in by Henry Eighth, to shackle their thievish fingers;—but I dare oppose the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans against the power of men or devils, which would trample upon the necks of kings. Suppose thy king very wicked, he hath more need of thy prayers to make him better; suppose him to be a tyrant, he will give thee the fairer occasions to exercise thy virtue of patience; suppose him to be a persecutor, he'll do thee a courtesie, he'll send thee to heaven by violence." P. 27—29.

We have room for only a few specimens of the discourses of Scots Episcopalians. The first of these that we shall mention is a sermon preached by Dr Alexander Ross, Professor of Theology at Glasgow, before the Circuit Court of Justiciary, held in that city on the 14th October 1684, and afterwards printed. We have not met with the sermon, but Mr Wodrow, who possessed it, has given a very particular account of its contents, and

none who has compared his history with his authorities, will call in question either his fidelity or his accuracy. In his dedication to the judges, the Doctor tells them, that "their incomparable zeal and dexterity, whereby they managed the court, was incredibly to the advantage of a decayed religion and loyalty in the corner." "His text," says Wodrow, "was Acts xxvi. 28, 'Thou almost persuadest me to be a Christian.' But if the Professor hath preached as he hath printed, which nobody will question, I may apply Cowley's character :

' He reads his text and takes his leave of it.'

" 'I will, (says the preacher), *1st*, Show the different parties of our divided Zion. *2dly*, The malignancy of the national sin schism. *3dly*, The necessity of Episcopacy for supporting the main concerns of Christianity. *Lastly*, The application.'"—"One cannot help thinking, (continues Wodrow), he might fully as well have chosen Gen. i. 1, for a text for this subject. Indeed, to these he premises a general account of Christianity, as he calls it, that he might have a hit at the disfigured faces, and hideous tones of some people;—and them he charges with being the occasions of the nation's heavy taxes, and points them out as the authors of all the confusions, rebellions, assassinations, and daily tumults in this kingdom; and, after a great many ill names of the declarations at Sanquhar, Rutherglen, &c. he gives a broad innuendo upon the Reformation, complaining that the nation lies under the reproach of ruined cathedrals and metropolitical sees; and then, in his deep oratory, descants upon Bishop Sharp's monument; and after some dry satyr upon the remaining inclinations of so many to-

wards Presbytery, he handles the evil of the sin of schism; and by some threadbare arguments, a hundred times answered, the Doctor endeavours to show the usefulness of Episcopacy to remove schism, heat, and many ill things in the church of Scotland, since her reformation by Presbyters. And for application, after he hath taken notice how unsuitable it is for an evangelical pastor to whet the sword of justice, and press severities, he comes gravely to tell the judges that they will be justified in whatever severe methods they find proper, by the malignancy of the present schism, and the inveteracy of the distemper; and presses them to take the harshest ways with such as threaten the very extinction of Christianity, and concludes with acquainting them, the church is like to suffer more from her present enemies than ever she did from Nero and Dioclesian. Here the native spirit of the orthodox clergy breathes freely; and after he hath pointed out the persecuted party and Presbyterians in the most odious colours, and when he hath wiped his mouth, and condemned himself in what follows, he plainly hounds out the judges to wholesome severities, and tells them, though they come the length of persecution, it is no more than the schismatics deserve, being worse than Nero and Dioclesian." Wodrow adds, "After the teaching and breathing out so much cruelty and severity in so public a manner, I wish, for their own sakes at least, the prelatie party would be a little less clamorous upon the extremities and excesses some few of the sufferers were at this time driven to by the oppression thus preached upon them."*—Not having seen the sermon, we cannot say

* Wodrow, ii. 415-16.

whether the Professor employed as vulgar abuse as his brother Dr Canaries, who calls the persecuted Presbyterians, "the very dregs and feculency of mankind, on the account both of their birth and breeding, but especially so because of their very souls and immortalities, as being such a herd of dull, and untractable, and whining, and debauched animals, as scarcely go beyond those of the hogs and goats which ever any of them was only born to attend." And as for the severities inflicted by government on such creatures: "The worst is to be flung over a ladder, or for one's neck to be tied to a beam, and then to have a sledge driven out under him."*

After the Revolution, the *Thirtieth of January* became the grand day for the display of Scots Episcopalian eloquence and loyalty. We have before us a great number of sermons preached "as on this day;" but at present we can find room for extracts from only two of them; the one a specimen of genuine rhetoric, and the other of deep and sound judgment. The text of the first of these is Exod. xx. 12, "Honour thy father and thy mother;" and the sermon begins thus: "My text lyes here inclosed within a sacred cabinet of orient gems, and pearles of great price, to witt, in this chapter containing the ten commandments, which are indeed so many rich and precious jewels, shining in the midst of darkness. Or, they are like the golden candlestick of the sanctuary, Exod. 25, 31, *his shaft*, and *his branches*, *his bowls* and *his knops*, and *his flowers*, with all his *lamps* of pure gold, shining with their native brightness and splendour,

* Discourse representing the sufficient manifestation of the will of God, p. 187 p. 192, anno 1684.

and enlightening all that are content to be guided by their light."—" 'Tis the great glory, and has been the blessing of this kingdom, that God (by whom kings reign) gave us princes, who, for their royal endowments, may be reckoned amongst the best of kings and princes of this earthly globe. For how many ages have they run down the squadrons of our enemies! and raised to their names everlasting trophees, by their admirable courage and conduct, in defending our ancestours, their liberty, their lands and heritages, against puissant and inveterate enemies? Our princes in stormie times have been our refuge under God, and our shelter. Nor were we ever overcome by humane force, while we kept *fidelitie* to our God, and *loyalty* to our *princes*. And if at any time the bright sun of monarchy amongst us suffered an eclipse, it happened always by the dreadful interposition of the misty clouds of *impiety* and *disloyaltie*."—"O thrice cursed blow that struck the head of these nations! The mirror of manhood, the nursing father of the church, the ornament of religion, the glory of Christianity! who died a faithful martyr, and is buried in the everlasting monuments of Fame; of whom history (the world's looking-glass and time's recorder) shall make honourable mention to all generations. 'Tis but needless to speak much of him, the deprivement of whose excellencies can't better be shadowed out by the skilfullest pensil, than by covering it over with the vail of silence. For what can my words but wrong his perfections, his virtues and excellencies, which the British world, and the Church of Christ were deprived of, by the bloody hands of wretched miscreants? O execrable, O unparalleled villany, and

to be remembered with continual lamentation!"—"Scotland then did weep (like *Rachel*) for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not. Our enemies displayed their proud banners against our walled towns, and raised up their lofty and swelling rampiers against our fortified places. The great ordinance (that fatal engine invented for the destruction of mankind) in manner of a great earthquake, so terribly roared and thundered, that the earth seemed not only to tremble under men's feet, but by and by to rend in sunder, and swallow them up. The air became thick, and the sky darkened with the smoke of the great artillery. Then were the walls of our towns made saltable, and the enemy (who glistened in their bright armour) approaching, some assaulted the breaches, others with their scaling ladders scaled the walls. Then followed the noise of small shot, the clashing of armour, the neighing of horses, the sound of the trumpet, the beating of drums, and other warlike instruments, with the lamentable outcries and pitiful groans of dying men, which was so confused and so great as if heaven and earth had been confounded together."*

The other sermon is by the celebrated champion of Episcopacy, Mr Robert Calder. The text is Gen. xlix. 5—7, "Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations;" or, as the preacher renders the words, "Instruments of cruelty are *their covenants*. And in their self-will they digged down a wall;"

* A Sermon preached on the xxx. day of January 1703-4, at Coupar of Fife, by Mr Al. Auchinleck.

“that is, in their wilfulness, they broke down the fences. Others render it from the Hebrew, *an ox*, and so by a metaphor it will signifie a *prince with strength and power*. Others, placing the singular for the plural, make it *oxen*, and so the meaning to be, They took away the Shechemites cattell, xxxiv. Gen. 28. They took their sheep, their oxen, and their asses,” &c.—“In the fourth place, I come to the application; and here I shall consider, 1. Who was murdered? 2. By whom? 3. By what means? 4. When? 5. On what pretences? 1st, Who? *A man, a prince, a Christian, yea, and a martyr* for the Christian religion.” “In the second place, let us consider, by whom? The answer is, by Simeon and Levi, brethren in iniquitie, by a prevailing partie in Scotland and England, the one the Judas that betray’d him, the other the Pontius Pilate that crucified him; and to deal verie plainly, they were the Presbyterians and Independents, two fraternities pretending to a further step of reformation, and a greater distance from the antichrist, and so others have reform’d from them, till thereby religion is dwindled into air and enthusiastick whimsies, and have reform’d themselves out of all forms, except it be a form of godliness, the power whereof they deny.”—“It is by virtue of these principles that the gentlemen of the *Calveshead-Club* meet together upon this day to stick their knives in a calve’s head, thereby engaging themselves in an unities to extirpate monarchie out of Britain, and to mock the humiliations and devotions of the day out of the church. These gentlemen act conform to the Covenanters principles, which took off the king’s head. For, as a learned pen saith, ’Tis not the meat but the principle that makes

those feasts detestable. For trulie if the people be supream and soveraign, the king was judg'd and sentenc'd by his proper judges. Yea, let me ad another consideration by way of question: Is not the calve's-head feast as lawfull as the publick thanksgivings that the Covenanters appointed for any victories they got when fighting against the king?"—"The next particular to be considered, is, When? As to the day of the month, it was this 30 of Januarie, where the second lesson appointed for morning prayer, is the historie of our Saviour's passion, which his Majestie thought Dr Juxton, his confessor, had chosen purposelie for his case, but being informed that it was the ordinarie lesson of the day, he was exceedingly comforted. As to the year, it was the fatal 1648. Then it was that all things turned upside down, that servants turned masters, and masters slaves; then it was that the spirit of the sword turn'd out the sword of the Spirit; then a king was chang'd into a protector, a covenant brought in for a creed, and a liturgie was exchang'd for a directorie. Then were taverns turn'd into temples, tubs into pulpits, mechanicks turn'd ministers, and ministers stoned like the old prophets. Churches were made stables for horses, or folds for cattell; the house of prayer was made a den of thieves, or a synagogue for Sathan: then it was that the new gospell turn'd out the old, and extempore excluded the pater noster.—And then a notable design was set on foot for enlarging the body of Protestants, which was to make an incorporate union with the Turks.—Nay, then-a-days, the Jews could obtain their petition for S. Paul's church to be a

synagogue for the 500,000 lib. which they offered to the usurping and arbitrary rulers, but the new reformers found they could not spare it from being a guard-house to keep the city of London in obedience; and had this held, there is no doubt that Moses had thrust out Christ, and the two tables the four Evangelists."—"Lastly, let us seriously pour out our souls before God, for our national and personal sins; particularly the sin of rebellion, that God may not pour down the vials of his wrath on the land. Let us pray that the principles for which he suffered may be revived, and become the practice of this land. Let the memory of Charles I. as a king and a Christian, become to us as musick to the ear, and honey to the mouth; and let the name of Cromwell and Bradshaw become as odious to British subjects as the names of Judas and Pontius Pilat are to Christians."

"From the spirit of Core, Dathan and Abiram, Absalom and Achitophel, Balaam and Judas, good Lord deliver us."*

The importunity and insolence of the British Critic has extorted these extracts from us; and if he shall come forward with his whole "century of Presbyterian preachers," we shall be prepared to confront them with *two* centuries. We have some little acquaintance with the history of Episcopacy in England and Scotland, both secret and public; and we think also that we know something of what its defenders, whether clerks or cavaliers,

* A sermon preach'd on the barbarous and bloodie murder of the royal martyr King Charles the First, 1708.

can produce against Presbyterians on the score of imprudence or of violence. The aggression has been on their side; we have appeared on the defensive; and being satisfied that this is our duty, we shall not shrink from its performance.

SECTION III.

English prejudices against Scotland—Facts accounting for these—Histories unfavourable to the Covenanters—Hume and Laing—Intelligence of the Scottish common people—Presbyterian Preachers—Their success in the Reformation of Manners—The Covenanters not hostile to Elegant Studies, and the genuine Friends of Civil Liberty—Their Publications—Prelacy leagued with arbitrary power—Extracts proving that, in contending for the Covenants, the Presbyterians were struggling for National Rights and Liberties—The Covenanters vindicated from the charge of Rebellion—True account of the Dissension at Bothwell Bridge—Welsh and Cargill—Robert Hamilton—The Covenanters vindicated from the charge of sanguinary principles and practices—The Cameronians and their Papers—Extract from Charters' Sermons—Conclusion.

AMONG the delinquencies of the author of the *Tales*, we consider it as none of the least, that his work is highly calculated to foster those mistaken and unfavourable notions which the people of England entertain of his countrymen during the period of which he writes. Of this we have already seen a very convincing proof in the language held by the *British Critic*. As an additional proof we may

appeal to the British Review for January. That work is conducted on principles unspeakably more moderate and liberal than the British Critic ; and, accordingly, the notice which it takes of the Tales, is marked with candour and a regard to critical justice. It begins very fairly, by giving a short narrative of the oppressions which the Covenanters endured ; and it concludes with expressing a suspicion (for what person of judgment could fail to suspect ?) that the work “has infused too much absurdity and ferocity into the character of the Covenanters,”—“that its features are too much on the confines of caricature,” and that it “displays too little sensibility to the crimes and cruelties of the royalists.” But the reviewer was destitute of that knowledge which could enable him to detect the errors which he suspected, or which could preserve him from adopting others of which he entertained no suspicion. The reader may take the following specimen : “Six bishops were consecrated, and sent off to Edinburgh in one coach, to graft prelacy upon the kirk ; to *substitute a regular liturgy for inspired effusions* ; to *impose forms and ceremonies upon a people, who, in the height of their spiritual fervours, regarded all forms and ceremonies with the bitterest scorn*, and to destroy the darling equality of presbytery, by *elevating huge monopolisers of church power and jurisdiction*.”* Whether there were six bishops consecrated at London, or only four, we do not reckon it worth while to dispute ; and whether they were sent off in one coach or in four coaches, we shall

* British Review, No. xviii., p. 195.

not give ourselves the trouble to enquire ; but certain we are, that all that follows in that sentence, with the exception of grafting prelacy on the kirk, is an ignorant waste of empty words, which only tends to show the reviewer's rashness, in taking up a subject with which he had no proper acquaintance. It is long since we were satisfied that no dependance was to be placed upon the judgments, whether favourable or unfavourable, which English censors of the press may be pleased to pronounce upon any historical work relating to Scotland. And we should not be at all surprised to find that every one of them had adopted as genuine, the most foolish and extravagant of the statements in the *Tales*, with even less qualification than has been used by the conductors of the work to which we now refer.

We would be ashamed of being found to cherish a spirit of narrow and illiberal nationality, especially towards the natives of our sister kingdom ; but we confess that we have felt proud of the superior knowledge which our countrymen have displayed of the history of England, compared with the knowledge which Englishmen have of ours ; and we feel proportionally humbled when we perceive a Scotsman retailing English blunders, and dressing the most crude materials, with laborious trifling, to feed English prejudices at the expense of his country's honour. It is but of late that Englishmen have come to entertain correct notions of Scotland, or of the character of its inhabitants ; and to this day, their knowledge of its history, and of its parties, political and religious, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is extremely imperfect and erroneous. Passing over such considera-

tions as are connected with the political situation of the two countries, both before and after the union of the crowns, we cannot refrain here from adverting to a few facts which serve to account for this singular phenomenon. During the infamous administration of Arran (Captain James Stuart), when the national liberties were overthrown along with presbytery, a libellous attack on the proceedings of the Scottish nation and church was published under the name of a royal Declaration.* Upon the fall of that unprincipled minister, the king disowned the Declaration, and threw the whole blame upon Archbishop Adamson, by whom it had been drawn up. But previous to this disavowal, it had, through Adamson's influence with the English bishops, been reprinted at London, with a preface more odious than itself, and inserted in the Chronicle then publishing by Hollinshed, from which it continued to be copied into the histories of England; while the Scots were precluded, by the peculiarity of their circumstances, from publishing any thing in their own vindication.† After James' accession

* Declaration of the Kings Majesties Intention and Meaning toward the late Actis of Parliament. Edinburgh, 1585.

† The first History of the Church of Scotland, by a Presbyterian, which came farther down than 1567, was Petrie's, published so late as 1662. The abstract of Calderwood was not printed until 1678. Those only who are intimately acquainted with the events that intervened, and with the fraud and violence practised by the court and the prelatie faction, are capable of judging how far Presbyterians were excusable, and to what degree they were culpable, in not publishing the genuine history of their proceedings, until falsehood and misrepresentation had taken such deep root as to become inextinguishable.

to the crown of England, the pen, as well as the influence of the monarch, was employed in propagating among his new subjects, prejudices against the Presbyterian church, and in loading the memory of its most distinguished members with every species of unfounded abuse. During the troubles excited by the imposition of the liturgy, another calumnious Declaration against the Scots church was published by royal authority.*

* A Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, from their first originals ; together with a particular Deduction of the Seditious Practices of the Prime Leaders of the Covenanters. Collected out of their owne foule Acts and Writings, &c., by the King. [Charles I.] London. 1639. Folio, pp. 430.

The following extracts will show the spirit of this Declaration. "The first contrivers, and since pursuers, of their late wicked covenant [the National Covenant, as renewed in 1638] or pretended holy league, (a name which all good men did abhorre in them of France), though, following the patterne of all other seditions, they did and doe pretend religion, yet nothing was or is lesse intended by them ; but that they, having received from us full satisfaction to all their desires, expressed in any of their petitions, remonstrances, or declarations ; yet their persisting in their tumultuous and rebellious courses doth demonstrate to the world, their weariness of being governait by us and our laws," &c.—"These men, who give themselves out to be the only reformers of religion, have taken such a course to undermine and blow up the religion reformed, by the scandall of rebellion and disobedience, which, so farre as in them lyeth, they have gone about to cast upon it, that if the conclave at Rome, the several colleges or congregations perpetually sitting at Rome for contriving and effecting the meanes of reducing to the Roman obedience all these kingdomes and provinces which have justly departed from them ; nay, and if, with both these, all the Jesuits and others,

The spirited conduct of the Scottish nation, and the sympathy which was excited in England by a similarity of circumstances, prevented this attack from proving injurious to the cause of presbytery. The Declaration was withdrawn; and Charles I. imitated the conduct of his father, by leaving his chaplain, Balcanquhal, to sus-

the most specially combined and sworn enemies to our profession, were all assembled in one place, and had all their wits and devices concentrated into one conclusion and resolution, they could hardly have fallen upon such a way as these pretended reformers have fallen upon for turning all men out of the paths of the reformed religion."—"For by their particular proceedings, truly set down in this Our Narration, it will plainly appeare, that their maxims are the same with the Jesuits; their preachers' sermons have been delivered in the very phrase and style of Becanus Scippius, and Eudæmon Johannes; their poor arguments, which they have delivered in their seditious pamphlets printed or written, are taken almost *verbatim* out of Bellarmine and Suarez, as appeareth to us by Our Royal Father his Monitorie Preface to all Christian Kings and Princes," &c., pp. 2, 3. All the pulpits in England, under the influence of the court, re-echoed these charges against the Scots nation; and yet, in the following year, the very proceedings so virulently arraigned, were ratified by his Majesty as just and lawful, and the Large Declaration was condemned as "a scandalous and dishonourable treatise—full of lies and untruths." How far Charles was sincere in this matter,—what confidence could be placed in his declarations and promises, while he continued attached to his evil counsellors,—and what security the people of Scotland would have had for the enjoyment of their lately recovered rights, in the event of the king's having subjugated the parliament of England,—it is not difficult for any one acquainted with the history of those times to determine.

stain the odium of that offensive publication. The cloud of prejudice was completely dissipated, and for several years the character of Scots Presbyterians stood high among the people of England ; but no sooner was that proud and inconstant nation freed from its fears of despotism, than it began to treat the Scots, whose assistance had contributed so materially to its deliverance, with ingratitude and insult. As a glaring proof of this, it deserves to be mentioned, that the slanderous Declaration of Adamson above referred to, was at this time reprinted, and circulated with great industry in England, not by the cavaliers, but by the sectaries, and that both in the English and Scots dialects !* During the

* Baillie's Historical Vindication, Ep. Dedic. "That pestiferous carcassee," says Baillie, "which, with all possible infamy, was buried so soon as born, and did lye quiet in its grave of shame till a full climaterick of threescore and three years ; our good friends have been so wise for themselves, and kind to us, as to dig up its stinking bones, and to carry it from house to house, from shire to shire, all over England, and wherever else a printed pamphlet can go, serving their brethren of Scotland with this curtesie according to their covenant. And least the antick face of so long buried a body should not have been looked upon by the multitude with any contentment, they did choose to be at the cost of putting it in a fine new English dresse, and setting upon its head the cape of a royall title : all to draw the eyes of the vulgar upon it, who otherwise might have passed by it with neglect and disdain. In this they have put themselves to a piece of pains which I never knew or heard used with any other book : they do print it first in Mr Adamson's own old Scottish language, and thereafter translated it in good modern English, setting before both the title of a Declaration made by

reign of Charles II., and under the tyrannical administration of the Duke of Lauderdale, the corrupting of the public mind in England, by the circulation of the most false and exaggerated accounts of Scottish affairs, was systematically pursued, and carried to an extent of which very few are now aware. Dr Hickes, Lauderdale's chaplain, was for a number of years employed in composing the most abusive libels against the Presbyterians, and all who sought to thwart the measures of his patron ;* and though none who has any regard to his own reputation for sense or candour would now refer to his writings as authorities, yet many of his most notorious falsehoods, and his grossest misrepresentations, were admitted into the general history of England, and continue to this day to pollute its pages. If we add to these the assiduous efforts of the Scotch Jacobites from the Revolution to the death of Queen Anne, adverted to in a preceding part of this review, we may be able to form some adequate idea of the causes which have produced such misconceptions in the minds of Englishmen respecting the most important transactions in the history of Scotland.

It might be thought that these mistakes would have been corrected by the histories of Scotland more lately written by some of our own countrymen. But this effect

King James in Scotland, concerning Church Government and Presbyters." Copies of these two editions, printed in 1646, are now before us.

* The principal of these are Ravillac Redivivus ; The Spirit of Popery speaking out of the Mouths of Fanatical Protestants ; and, The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised.

has been but partially produced. This may be attributed, in a great degree, to the general and comprehensive nature of these histories ; the plan adopted by their authors confining them to an exhibition of the leading facts, and precluding them from entering into more minute inquiries and details. But a regard to truth obliges us to go farther, and to state, that some of our late historians, from prejudices felt by them on the score of politics or religion, have, instead of correcting, confirmed the erroneous impressions previously made on the public mind with relation to some of the most estimable characters and important transactions in our national annals. We shall give an example of this from Mr Laing's History. In his narrative of transactions from the Restoration to the Revolution, that able historian describes, with commendable feelings of indignation, the cruelties of an oppressive and persecuting government. At the same time, it cannot be denied, that he has been almost as liberal as Hume in applying the name of fanatics to the objects of persecution, and has exposed himself to the censure passed by the poet on his predecessor, who

“ Execrates, indeed,
The tyranny that doomed them to the fire,
But gives the glorious sufferers little praise.”*

Mr Laing shows himself unfavourable to the Covenanters at an earlier period. In general we consider him as having failed to do justice to their enlightened zeal for

* [Cowper's Task, book v.]

civil liberty, and to their disinterestedness in the union which they formed with the English parliament, and in the assistance which they afforded it during the civil war. But the passage which we have immediately in our eye related to the Scots preachers who went to London in 1640, along with the commissioners appointed to conclude the treaty begun at Rippon. "A house," says he, "was appropriated in the city for their (the Scotch commissioners') residence: the adjacent church of St Antholin's was assigned for their devotions. They were attended by Henderson and other eminent divines; and from dawn till the Sabbath was concluded, their chapel was crowded and surrounded with multitudes of all ranks, whom the novelty of the Presbyterian worship had attracted. The conflux and insatiate resort of the people, who clung to the windows when excluded from the doors, to inhale the sanctified tone and provincial accents of a barbarous preacher, has been justly ascribed to the fanatical spirit that began to predominate, which rendered them apt recipients for the fumes of devotion."* In support of this representation, Mr Laing refers to Clarendon and Hume. Now, Clarendon does not say one word about sanctified tones, provincial accent, barbarous dialect, fanatical spirit, or fumes of devotion. All that he says in proof of the bad taste of the people who crowded to hear the Scotch preachers, is, that their discourses were very "insipid and flat,"†—properties, one would be apt

* Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 184.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 154. Lond. 1702. Folio.

to conclude, not much calculated to foster a "fanatical spirit," or to raise "the fumes of devotion." Mr Laing must, therefore, have borrowed his representation solely from Mr Hume; and, indeed, he has merely altered the language used by that historian. Having described the crowd without doors as "catching at least some distant murmur or broken phrases of the holy rhetoric," Hume adds: "All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests, was not attended to with such insatiable avidity, as were these lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbarism and ignorance."* Now, we must say that all this is ridiculous cant, and full of ignorance; and we are surprised that a person of Mr Laing's good sense, and who well knew upon what slender grounds many of Mr Hume's descriptions rest, should have adopted such a statement. It was ridiculous cant in Mr Hume to talk in the style of applause of the refined eloquence of parliament, and of their being "animated with the spirit of liberty," for which he felt no admiration: and we can view this in no other light than as a flourish to enable him to aim a more effectual stroke at the Scots preachers, and the exercises of religion; just as he exalted the character of Queen Mary, of whom he confesses he had no good opinion, that he might lower the reputation of the reformers of his native country. What ground had he for saying that the sermons of the Scots preachers were "delivered with ridiculous cant"?

* Hume's History, chap. 54.

Or what good reason had he for asserting that they spoke with an "accent full of barbarism and ignorance"? We are persuaded he had none. Both he and Mr Laing seem to have taken it for granted, that the farther back we go in the history of Britain, the difference between the language of the English and Scots was the wider. The very reverse of this we believe to be the truth. They seem to have taken it for granted, that, in 1640, well-educated natives of Scotland could not deliver a discourse before Englishmen of the same class, without exposing themselves to ridicule by the barbarity of their provincial dialect and accent. It might have occurred to them, that, if this had been the case, Lord Clarendon would scarcely have omitted to particularise it on the present occasion. It might have occurred to them, that they must, in the course of their reading, have met with this allegation in some contemporary writer, if there had been any foundation laid for it. For our part, we can declare, that we do not recollect of a single instance of such a reflection being brought against the Scottish divines (and they were exposed to many reflections, both grave and satirical) during the time that they were in London, attending upon the Westminster Assembly.

With respect to the matter and composition of their sermons, which are of greater consequence, we must say, in opposition to Lord Clarendon, that they were not "insipid and flat," and, in opposition to Mr Hume and Mr Laing, that they were neither debased with "pedantry," nor "fanatical and barbarous." We have read, not one, but a number of sermons, preached by Henderson,

Gillespie, and Baillie,* and we are sure we do not go too far when we say, that they may bear a comparison with any sermon at that time delivered in London, and that they might have been heard (and indeed were heard) by the most refined members of the parliament of England without the slightest feeling of disgust or ridicule. With respect to Henderson in particular, three of his sermons, preached before that parliament, are now on our table, and they show that he possessed not merely good sense and learning, but also a rich imagination and a refined taste. That our readers may not be left to depend upon our opinion, we shall give the character of this divine as drawn by a member of the English Church, who cannot be suspected of partiality. "Alexander Henderson, the chief of the Scottish clergy in this reign," says Grainger, "was learned, eloquent, and polite ; and perfectly well versed in the knowledge of mankind. He was at the helm of affairs in the general assemblies in Scotland ; and was sent into England in the double capacity of a divine and plenipotentiary. He knew how to rouse the people to war, or negotiate a peace. Whenever he preached, it was to a crowded audience; and when he pleaded or argued, he was regarded with mute attention."† Such was the man whom our modern historians modestly call "a barbarous preacher ;" and under such direction were those

* Mr Robert Blair was the only other Scotch minister at the time referred to. We do not speak of him, because we have not met with any of his sermons ; but we have no reason to think that they were inferior to those of his colleagues.

† Biographical History of England, vol. i. p. 416.

ecclesiastical courts, whose proceedings they represent as characterised by bigotry and fanaticism !

We have pointed out this instance of inaccuracy and unfairness in the writings of Mr Laing, because many, who are on their guard against the palpable prejudices of Hume, may be in danger of being imposed upon by his representations. With the political sentiments which he avows in his history, we have the happiness in general to agree ; and on many points we have been much indebted to the accuracy of his researches. But no coincidence in political opinion, nor in any set of opinions, and no obligations which we may feel to the labours of an individual, will induce us to overlook any act of injustice done to truth, or any attempt to detract from the hard-earned praise so justly due to men who, in critical times, stood forth as the defenders of religion and liberty. It is but justice to say, that we know none of our historians who has been more exact in examining his authorities than Mr Laing, and we have never in one instance found him chargeable with any thing like intentional unfaithfulness in reporting the result of his inquiries. But we beg leave to make two remarks here ; and we make them not so much in relation to the case under consideration, as with a view to historical reading at large. In the *first* place, there is a wide difference between the consulting of books and manuscripts in order to obtain what may be called the *facts* of a period, and a consulting of these in order to ascertain the *character* of the age, including the opinions, talents, acquirements, and moral qualities of the principal persons who figured in it. This last requires a com-

pass of reading, a minuteness of investigation, a slowness in progress, a patient and long-continued attention to the subject, which few are inclined to bestow, and which is scarcely to be expected from those who write general history, or the history of a particular nation during a long period of years. Even the most accurate historians will commit very great mistakes in this respect, if they are not extremely cautious and diffident in giving their judgment on points which they have not carefully investigated. In the *second* place, we must remark, that a spirit of indifference to religion incapacitates a person in a great measure from doing justice to our history during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Religion had such influence on all the revolutions of that period, and its disputes were so much involved in all the great political questions which were then agitated, that it is impossible to give a just view of the latter, without an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the former. But those who are inclined to be sceptical in religion, or who view all its forms as equally uncertain, or false, or unworthy of rational reception, naturally feel a disgust at those inquiries which it is absolutely necessary for them to make, and, entering upon the investigation with reluctance, they are apt to conduct it with superficiality. To the same cause we must trace the disposition of such writers to form a low opinion of the talents of religious persons, or to impute their actions to unworthy motives. Unacquainted with the influence which religion exerts over the minds and conduct of men, they are ready on all occasions to charge them with weakness, with hypocrisy, or with fanaticism.

To some, perhaps, these observations may appear irrelevant to the subject of this review; but the truth is, that we would not have deemed the *Tales* worthy of the notice which we have bestowed on them; had we not been convinced that the ordinary sources of public information are deeply polluted. We judged it of consequence to point out this along with some of its principal causes. A radical mistake, both as to measures and characters, runs through the most interesting part of our history; and until this is noticed and corrected, partial misrepresentations may be exposed, but the evil will remain uncured. Nor can the instances to which we have just referred be viewed as unconnected with our present subject. The preachers who, in the *Tales*, are held up to ridicule and odium as fools and fanatics, received their education under Henderson and his colleagues; their principles agreed with those of their predecessors; their talents and acquirements did not radically differ; and the aspersions thrown on the characters of the one and the other may be traced to the same causes, political or religious.

The author of the *Tales* has given a most unfair view of the common people of Scotland in point of intelligence. This we deem very unworthy of a Scotsman, who should be proud of the superior sense and information of his countrymen, and be always ready to do justice to them. He could scarcely fail being aware, that the common people among the Presbyterians were in general better informed than the rest of their countrymen of the same rank. But what a poor idea must we form of their intelligence, if we judge of it from the ridi-

culous and incoherent harangues put into the mouth of such persons as Widow Headrigg, even on points of religion, with which they had the best opportunity of being acquainted! Such unfair representations will, however, have no influence, except on those who are either completely ignorant of the subject, or predisposed to embrace them. They are flatly contradicted by the credible testimonies of both friends and foes to the Covenanters. "At the king's return," says Kirkton, "every parochie had a minister, every village a school, every family a Bible; yea, in most of the countrey all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles, either by the parents or their ministers."* As a proof of the thirst for knowledge excited in the minds of the people, that historian mentions, that he knew of sixty aged persons who went to school, that they might acquire the art of reading. Bishop Burnet confirms the statements of Kirkton, respecting the assiduity with which the Presbyterian ministers performed the public and private duties of their office, and the proficiency which the people made under their instructions. He was one of the six Episcopalian divines selected to itinerate in the west country, and to persuade the people, by their sermons and private conversations, to agree to the scheme of accommodation between Episcopacy and Presbytery, which Leighton was so eager to carry into effect. They were the most learned and able men of that persuasion, and usually called *the Bishop's*

* History of the Church of Scotland, MS.

Evangelists. "The Episcopal clergy who were yet in the country," says Burnet, in his account of that itine-
 racy, "could not argue much for any thing ; and would
 not at all argue in favour of a proposition that they
 hated. The people of the country came willingly to
 hear us, though not in great crowds. We were indeed
 amazed to see a poor commonality so capable to argue
 upon points of government, or on the bounds to be set
 to the power of princes in matters of religion : upon all
 these topics they had texts of Scripture at hand ; and
 were ready with their answers to any thing that was
 said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread
 even among *the meanest of them, their cottagers, and
 their servants.* They were indeed vain of their know-
 ledge, much conceited of themselves, and were full of
 a most entangled scrupulosity ; so that they found or
 made difficulties in every thing that could be laid before
 them."* The reader will observe that this extract
 refers to the very topics on which the Covenanters are
 made to talk so foolishly and ridiculously in the Tales.
 It is evident, from his own account, that the bishop had
 found himself not a little "entangled" and hard pressed
 in the disputes which he maintained with these cot-
 tagers ; and, therefore, we can excuse him for complain-
 ing of the "scrupulosity" with which they adhered to their
 opinions, and the vanity with which they triumphed in
 the replies which they made to his arguments. He tells
 us, however, that he had afterwards an opportunity of

* History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 431. Edin. 1753. 12mo.

revenging himself on one of their preachers, to whose studied speech against Episcopacy, he, being 'then full of those matters,' made a most triumphant and silencing reply."*

The author of the *Tales* may perhaps think that he is so far borne out in his representations of the Presbyterian commonalty, by what Bishop Burnet has said of their prayers. "They," says he, speaking of the ministers, "had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed *extempore*. I have often heard them at it; and though *there was a large mixture of odd stuff*, yet I have been astonished to hear how copious and ready they were in it."† But a small degree of attention will convince any one, that this affords only the shadow of an apology. The Bishop acknowledges, in the very next sentence, "they had a comprehension of matters of religion, greater than I have seen among people of that sort any where." By the mixture which he finds fault with, he therefore most probably meant such unfit expressions and phrases as sensible people may be supposed to use in extemporaneous speaking. And we know that the same charge is to this day brought by the advocates for a prescribed liturgy against the prayers still used in Presbyterian churches. Besides, the things which the Bishop characterises as odd, are in a great measure matters of taste, which is various and changeable. What one man thinks odd, appears to another very natural, and what was familiar in one age, becomes strange in the next; nay, so very

* History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 435. † Ibid. p. 228.

capricious is this principle, that we often find things which had been exploded as oddities and barbarisms, revived and brought into fashion again. We shall endeavour to make this as plain as we can, by an example. Poetry has of late adopted a new style among us, and has exhibited beauties which were not formerly recognised or held in admiration, during what was usually called our Augustan age. Let us suppose that some of the critics of the old school should rise from the dead—Addison, Pope, and Johnson, for instance; and let the admired productions of some of our Lake and Border poets be submitted to their judgment, we are strongly inclined to suspect, that their verdict would contain a clause of the same kind with that which the Bishop pronounced on the extempore prayers of the Presbyterian commonalty, and that they would say, “There is a large mixture of *odd stuff* in them; yet we have been astonished to see how copious and ready they are in it.” As for the Bishop himself, he is a very entertaining memoir-writer, and a very instructive one too; but it must be confessed by his greatest admirers, that there is a great mixture of *odd stuff* in his OWN TIMES; and often have we been astonished at the copious and ready manner in which he pours it forth. Even the Liturgy of the Church of England is not exempted from this charge—it too contains “*odd stuff* ;” and we do not recollect to have heard any expressions or phrases, or any repetitions of them, used in extemporaneous prayer, which are half so objectionable and offensive to us as the irreverent ejaculations and vain repetitions which occur in the Litany alone, “to be sung or said after Morning Prayer, upon Sundays,

Wednesdays, and Fridays, and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary."

Bishop Burnet is very particular in his account of the Presbyterian preachers ; and while he allows that they were pious men, and highly respected by the gentry as well as the common people, he testifies a disposition to find as many faults in them as he can. With all the faults which he has ascribed to them, we do not hesitate in preferring them far, not only to his brethren in Scotland, (whose inferiority, with a very few exceptions, he does not attempt to conceal ;) but even to the Episcopalian clergy of England, including both the "pyeballed," and also those who undertook to "reform the way of preaching," and who recommended themselves so much to that excellent judge of true taste and good sermons, Charles II. We have a great respect for the Bishop, on account of his private character, and his public services in the cause of civil and religious liberty both before and after the Revolution ; but regard to truth, and to the character of men who suffered far more for this cause than he did, obliges us to mention a few facts, not generally adverted to, which go to qualify our confidence in his *dicta* on this subject. The first relates to his sentiments in religion. The Presbyterian ministers were all decided Calvinists, whereas the Bishop was an Arminian ; a circumstance which at that time could scarcely fail to give a tinge to his opinion respecting their sermons. Secondly, we ought to consider his employment, during the time that he was in Scotland. He was not only of Episcopalian sentiments, but, during a number of years, he acted as a zealous champion for Episcopacy, and for

the laws by which it was established and supported in this country after the Restoration. In this warfare, he did not confine himself to the pulpit, the academical chair, and private disputations, but he appeared as a declared antagonist to the Presbyterians from the press.* It is proper also to state, that, in these publications, he did not treat them with the greatest mildness, and was in his turn handled by his opponents without much ceremony. He has not mentioned these facts in his history; and he was extremely anxious to suppress the dedication of one of his polemical works, in which he panegyricized Lauderdale, whose administration he had warmly supported, but whom he afterwards deserted.† Although

* In 1669, he published "A modest and free Conference betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist, about the present distempers of Scotland." This was answered in 1671, by "The True Non-Conformist;" to which he replied in "A Vindication of the authority, constitution, and laws of the Church and State of Scotland. Glasgow, 1673."

† In his Dedication of the *Vindication* to the Duke of Lauderdale, he says: "To whom is a vindication of the authority and laws of this kingdom so due as to your Grace, to whom his Majesty hath, by a royal delegation, committed the administration of affairs among us; and *under whose wise and happy conduct, we have enjoyed so long a tract of uninterrupted tranquillity*.—I pretend not by prefixing so great a name to these Conferences, to be secure from censure by your Patrociny, since *these enemies of all order and authority*, with whom I deal, will rather be provoked to lash me with the more severity." The first Conference is intended to refute the opinion, "that subjects under a lawful sovereign, when oppressed in their established religion, may, by arms defend themselves, and resist the magistrates," and to prove that

therefore, he had altered his views, and repented of his former conduct, in many things, before he composed the History of his Own Times, yet there is good reason for doubting if the Bishop was the impartial historian which many have supposed him to be, so far as Scots Presbyterians are concerned ; and it is natural to think that the unfavourable impressions which he had early received against them, and which were confirmed by the controversial warfare which he had managed, continued to exert an influence over his mind. This will account in a great degree for what he says of the haughtiness of the Presbyterian ministers,—their servility, censoriousness, indiscretion, and passion,—the indifferent size of their capacity,—and the confined nature of their literary acquirements. Some of these charges are not very consistent, and the accusation of servility or fawning comes with rather a bad grace from one who repeatedly fell into this sin. More than one of them possessed as large a size of capacity, and as great a compass of learning, as the Bishop ; and they would have distinguished themselves, had it not been for the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed. We have no hesitation in mentioning Mr John Brown of Wamphray as one of these.

“ The preachers (says the Bishop) went all in one tract, magistrates do not derive their power from the people. This shows that the Bishop’s political sentiments afterwards underwent a great change, and that his biographers do not state the matter fairly, when they assert that, before this period, he was averse to all severities in matters of religion, and condemned the harsh measures taken against the Presbyterians.

raising observations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving these by reasons, and then of applying those and showing the use," &c. Now, in the first place, it is highly to the credit of the Presbyterian preachers in point of sound sense, that none of them did at any time suffer themselves to be infected with the conceited, pedantic, absurd, and disgusting practice, so general, and so long-continued among English divines, of interlarding their sermons with phrases and quotations from Latin and Greek authors. Secondly, the bishop is forced to allow that their method was excellently calculated to gain at least one of the great ends of preaching; for he says that "the people grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it." But, thirdly, it is not true that the method described by him was invariably followed by the Presbyterian preachers. We allow that it was common. But a mode of preaching less encumbered with divisions of the subject, more varied, more free and excursive, and more fitted to awaken the attention, and enliven the mind, had been introduced among them at an earlier period, and was followed by many of the ministers. This plan was adopted, not only by Archbishop Leighton, but also by many of the Protesters, who were the most zealous Presbyterians.* If we have room for it, we shall

* Mr Baillie gives the following description of the plan in his account of the settlement of Mr Andrew Gray, by the interest of the Protesters at Glasgow:—"He has the new guise of preaching, which Mr Hugh Binning and Mr Robert Leighton began, containing [perhaps *disdaining*] the ordinary way of expounding and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses; but runs out on a

afterwards give a specimen of a third method, which was simple and chaste, and united in a great degree the advantages of the two preceding plans. The author of the *Tales* has given a specimen of what may be reckoned a fourth plan, in the sermon that he has put into the mouth of Ephraim Macbair, of which the idea has been borrowed from a sermon preached by Cameron that we have read. These facts show that neither the Bishop nor our author was well informed on this subject, though both of them have written on it with sufficient confidence. The Bishop further tells us, that some of the Presbyterian preachers mistook for "the work of the Spirit of God" what their people said to them "under fits of melancholy, or vapours, or obstructions." It might be so, and it might also be true that the Bishop mistook the

discourse on some common head, in a high, romancing, and unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, but leaving, as he confesses, little or nought to the memory and understanding." (Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 385.) This, it must be recollected, is the representation of one who was prejudiced against the party, in which this method of sermonising was most prevalent: Mr Baillie was warmly attached to the *Public Resolutions*. Specimens of this plan may be seen in the discourses of Leighton and Binning. It may contribute to the correction of mistakes as to the character of those times to remark, that Archbishop Leighton differed very widely from Burnet, Nairn, and Charteris, on the doctrines of revealed religion. On these, he coincided in sentiment with the Presbyterian ministers, several of whom, although they condemned his compliance with Episcopacy, yet, having been educated under him, or admiring his talents and piety, imitated his style of preaching.

vapours for "abstraction of mind, and the other great heights of Christian religion," and that by recommending these feelings as the essence of true religion, he fed this disease of weak minds too much. For it should be known, that the Bishop was, at least at one period of his life, an admirer of ultra-puritanism, and found great fault with the Presbyterians for their want of spirituality. "The true heights of spirituality," says he, "were as little preached, as the living much in abstraction, silence, and solitude; the being often in the still contemplations of God and Christ, the becoming dead to all things else, spending dayes and nights in secret fastings and prayers, —how seldom were these things spoken of?—Who of you despise the world? give away your goods to the poor? who bear injuries without resentments and revenge? Who are willing to be set at nought?" &c.* We do not, however, suppose that Bishop Burnet was ever a thorough convert to the opinions of the mystics; he spoke in a

* Modest and Free Conference, pp. 19, 23. "Sir, (says the Bishop's opponent in reply,) you are so much upon your *heights*, that you see nothing about you. Pray descend a little, and consider that your own ministers are as great strangers to these fine expressions of yours, and you and they to the things signified, to say no worse, as ours are."—He adds, that this ideal and abstracted scheme of devotion was taken up by many as an excuse for their patronising a religious establishment which was founded in violence, and productive of profaneness, and as a prudent pretext for their consulting their own ease in complying with the arbitrary injunctions of authority. "O the rare device, that both inwardly elevates to the highest spiritual abstractions, and outwardly smooths to a most easy temporizing compliance!"—The True Non-Conformist, pp. 52, 61, 62.

great measure the language of Charteris, and one or two others with whom he at that time associated; and he was too much a man of the world, and too fond of company and of talking, ever to become an ascetic or a quietist.

Whatever were the talents of the Presbyterian preachers, there can be no doubt of their success in accomplishing a most salutary and desirable reformation on the manners of the people. This had become very conspicuous in the latter part of the interregnum, after the confusions produced by the civil war had subsided. The efficacy of Presbytery, in producing sobriety and decorum of behaviour, was universally acknowledged. "Nobody," says Kirkton, "complained more of our church-government than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was, 'Their trade was broke, people were become so sober.'" After the Restoration, when licentiousness of every kind was not only tolerated but encouraged, when the priest as well as the prince had become profane, the Presbyterian spirit with which the nation was still animated, was the only principle which checked and counteracted the progress of the alarming evil. This was the salt which preserved the mass from total and incurable corruption.—We are told, that, in the primitive days of Christianity, those who were persecuted, were scattered abroad, and went everywhere preaching the word. The laws against non-conformity, and their rigid execution, contributed indirectly to introduce the blessings of religious knowledge and good order into some parts of Scotland, which had hitherto resisted the influence of all the ordinary means of civilization, and continued in a state of ignorance and barbarism. The good effects of field-

preaching on the inhabitants of the Borders have been mentioned by different writers;* but there is reason to believe, that they were more extensive than is commonly supposed. There is an anecdote illustrative of this which deserves to be generally known. The *Thieves of Annandale* had become a proverbial expression, from the fact of the inhabitants of that district being generally addicted to theft. In 1678, after the Highland host was brought in upon the west country, the Duke of Hamilton having gone to London to represent the grievances of the country, was followed by the Marquis of Athol, and the Earl of Perth. In travelling through Annandale to Carlisle with a small retinue, the two statesmen were benighted, and unable to find their way. Two country women, who happened to meet with them in this situation, conducted them to a cottage, the inhabitants of which gave them the best entertainment which was in their power. The noblemen having expressed a fear that their horses would be stolen during the night, as the house in which they were lodged was unlocked, the cottagers quieted their apprehensions by assuring them, that "there was now no thieving in their country since the field-preachings came among them;" adding many other particulars respecting the reformation which had been produced upon the inhabitants.† We shall subjoin

* Leyden's *Scenes of Infancy*; and Scott's *Ministrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Introd.

† Kirkton's MS. History. [This History has since been printed by the Bannatyne Club, and edited by Mr C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, with notes, in which he has raked together all the rub-

another anecdote, which is very characteristic of the two parties into which the nation was divided, and descriptive of the marks by which the judges were accustomed to distinguish the objects of prosecution. During the heat of the contentions, the parish of Wiston in Clydesdale having become vacant, a very unpopular candidate was presented. On the day of his admission, the people rose and chased the curate and his company from the church. A lady in the parish, who was suspected of having instigated the tumult, was summoned before the Privy Council. When she appeared at the bar, and her libel had been read over, the chancellor asked her if the charges were true, to which she replied, "The devil one word is true in them." The lords stared on one another; and after a short pause, the chancellor courteously told her, that her cause was adjourned to a future day. She was never more troubled. "Such virtue," says Kirkton, "there was in a short curse fullie to satisfie such governours; and many thought it good policy to demonstrate themselves to be honest profane people, that they might vindicat themselves of the dangerous suspicion of being Presbyterians."*

The author of the *Tales* accuses the Covenanters of "an abhorrent condemnation of all elegant studies." (Vol. ii. 315.) In order to make room for statements which we consider of greater intrinsic importance, we must exclude at present the materials which we had collected on this subject. We positively deny the charge, bish and ribaldry he could collect against the Covenanters. A new edition of the work is loudly called for.]

* Ibid.

and challenge the proof. Though certainly not bound to prove a negative, we have not the slightest doubt that we could show, to the satisfaction of our readers, that the accusation is utterly unfounded; that it is of the same kind with the charge so long reiterated against the Roundheads of England, until it was silenced by a more accurate knowledge of their private history, and particularly by the publication of the Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson; that though the circumstances in which they were placed did not admit of their cultivating them, yet the Covenanters did not condemn, far less express their abhorrence of elegant studies; that among those held in great reputation among them, there were persons of an elegant turn of mind, and good taste; and that while the author, with the view of exalting the character of the cavaliers, and putting into the mouth of Burley that condemnation of elegant pursuits which he imputes to the whole party, has fabricated a copy of verses for Bothwell, he has, at the same time, from inexcusable ignorance, or the most culpable partiality, overlooked or suppressed the fact, that there was, at that very time, in the camp of the Covenanters, a man, who, besides his other accomplishments, was a poet superior to any on the opposite side whom he could produce, or now can name. These affirmations we engage to make good, provided they are called in question, and as soon as we shall have a regular opportunity of redeeming our pledge.

If we believe the author of the *Tales*, the Covenanters were devoid of enlightened regard to civil liberty, and actuated solely by bigotted attachment to Presbytery, and a desire to have it restored in opposition to Prelacy

and Erastianism. It is unnecessary to refer to particular passages ; this is the idea conveyed to the mind of the reader by the whole representation. Now, in the *first* place, this statement, granting it to be correct, would not warrant a summary condemnation of the struggles of the Covenanters, and still less the ridicule with which it has been attempted to cover them. The resistance lately made by the Spanish nation to French usurpation, and its persevering exertions to throw off the yoke imposed upon it, met with general applause in this country. Did these proceed from liberal views of civil liberty ? Or, was the object of them of more intrinsic importance than that for which the Scottish Covenanters contended ? Who will say so, that knows anything of the subject ? At the Restoration, the Presbyterians of Scotland were in possession of rights, political and ecclesiastical, which were secured to them in the most solemn manner. These were violated and overthrown by a prince, who had sworn in his coronation oath to maintain them. Their established religion was taken from them ; laws were enacted, and penalties inflicted, to enforce conformity to an establishment odious to the nation ; and they were fined, imprisoned, and proscribed for refusing this, and for receiving divine ordinances from the only class of persons whom they could acknowledge as their lawful ministers. After enduring such oppressions, and being driven at last to the extremity of taking up arms in the defence of their lives, are they to be stigmatised and derided, because, in their manifestoes, they demanded the restoration of their covenanted privileges and laws, instead of pleading for the rights of

man, or for their "chartered rights as freemen," in the elegant and approved style which a modern novelist is pleased to prescribe?

In the *second* place, we directly oppose ourselves to the statement, and maintain, that the Covenanters were the genuine and enlightened friends of civil liberty, and the only persons who made a consistent and firm stand in its defence. It may justly be matter of surprise that this should be doubted, or that we should be obliged to produce evidence in its support. Who can doubt it, that is acquainted with those Covenants from which they obtained their name, for which they have been accused of cherishing a superstitious veneration, and which they justly venerated? In the National Covenant, as renewed in 1638, did they not declare, that the innovations and evils against which they had supplicated and complained, did "sensibly tend to the subversion and ruin of our *liberties, laws, and estates*"? and did they not "promise and swear to stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, the king's majesty, his person and authority, in defence of *the liberties and laws of the kingdom*"? In the Solemn League and Covenant, made in 1643, did they not declare, that they had before their eyes not only "the glory of God, the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the honour and happiness of the king's majesty and his posterity, but also *the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms*"? did they not swear to endeavour, with their estates and lives, mutually to preserve "*the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms*, and to preserve and de-

fend the king's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and *liberties of the kingdoms*? and did they not describe the object of their league to be the defence and promotion of "this common cause of religion, *liberty*, and peace of the kingdoms"? In the renovation of this covenant, in 1648, did they not declare, "Some amongst ourselves have laboured to put into the hands of our king an *arbitrary* and *unlimited* power, destructive to—the *privileges of the parliaments, and liberties of the subject*;"—"and many of us have been accessory of late to those means and ways whereby the freedom and privileges of parliaments have been encroached upon, and the subjects oppressed in their consciences, persons, and estates"? and did they not promise to "vindicate and maintain *the liberties of the subjects*, in all these things which concern their consciences, persons, and estates"?—We appeal to the struggle which they maintained, in conjunction with the parliament of England, during the civil war, and to the blood and treasure which they expended in that contest. Was not the preservation of the liberties of the three kingdoms against arbitrary power, and the settlement of these on a sure basis, one principal object of this contest, and constantly avowed by them in all their manifestoes, declarations, and apologies? And did they not protest against the invasions made on these rights by the English army, in trying and executing the king, putting down the parliament, and altering the whole frame of the constitution and government?—We appeal to their conduct when they espoused the interest of Charles II. in opposition to the Commonwealth of England. Did

they admit him to the exercise of the royal authority in Scotland, upon his consenting to the Presbyterian establishment, in the way of overlooking and sacrificing their own civil rights, or those of the sister kingdoms? Did they not, on the contrary, expressly take him bound at his coronation to preserve the latter, as well as the former, inviolate?—We appeal to their conduct at the Restoration. Were they not the only party who endeavoured to prevent the overthrow of the civil, as well as the ecclesiastical constitution, and who testified against the laws which stretched the royal prerogative beyond all due bounds, and encroached upon the liberty of the subject?—We appeal to the books written by Covenanters, and held in the greatest esteem among them. To *Lex, Rex*, which had the honour to be consigned to the flames among the first acts of the government after the Restoration, which, as its title expresses, was intended to prove that “the law is superior to the prince,” and which established, with much learning and ingenuity, the leading principles of political liberty, in opposition to the patrons of absolute power and passive obedience. To the *Apologetical Relation*, in which the *civil supremacy* with which Charles II. was invested, is shown to be no less incompatible with the liberties of the nation than his *ecclesiastical supremacy* was with the liberties of the church;* in which the proceedings of the parlia-

* In answer to the objection, that “the parliament, having annexed such power to the crown, it is lawful for private subjects to acknowledge and swear to maintain it,” the author makes the following reply:—“In poynt of law it will be a very great question, whether parliaments, who are but trustees intrusted by

ments of England and Scotland, in opposing the arbitrary designs of Charles I. and the validity of the Rescinded Acts, are defended; and in which the court of

the people, whose commissioners they are, and virtually if not expressly bound to maintaine their rights and privileges, may betray their trust, and give away the just and ancient privileges of parliament, and therewith the just and ancient liberties of the people. It will be a great question, if they, at their own hand, may alter the fundamentall lawes of the land, without the consent of these whose commissioners they are. And it will be a greater question in law, if this parliament might have sold or given away the privileges of parliament, and liberties of the people, seeing so much in poynt of law may be objected against its being a free parliament, if the want of freedome of election in shires and brughs,—if prelimitation,—if the election of such as were not capable, by the fundamentall constitution of parliaments, and practice of the kingdome,—and other informalities of that kinde, may have any place or weight in the annulling of parliaments. But, 2d, In poynt of conscience, it is clear that parliaments may not now give away, and according to their pleasure dispoñe of the rights and privileges of parliament; for in the third article of the league and covenant, all the people of the land, and parliaments among the rest, are sworn to maintaine, in their severall places and capacities, and so parliaments, in their parliamentary capacity, the rights and privileges of parliament. 3d, Though the parliament, notwithstanding of the bonde of the covenant, should denude themselves of their privileges, yet now seeing every particular member of the kingdome is sworne, according to his place and station, to maintaine the rights and privileges of parliament, they may not assent unto such a deed of the parliament, and by their oath and subscription approve of such a wrong; for that is the least that private persons, who desire to minde and make conscience of the oath of God, can do at such a time, viz. to refuse to give an expresse, clear, and positive

High Commission is condemned as contrary to "the rights and privileges of parliaments" and "the liberties of the kingdom," and as flowing from "an arbitrary power assumed by the prince over them, contrary to the fundamental laws of the land, in setting up what judicatories he pleaseth without consent of Parliament, without whose special warrant and authority the meanest fixed court cannot be erected."* The same principles are avowed and vindicated in *Naphtali*,† in the defence of that work, entitled *Jus Populi Vindicatum*;‡ and in the *Apology for the persecuted ministers and professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion*.§ These were the books which were in the hands of the Covenanters, and from which they derived that knowledge which astonished Bishop Burnet; and none but a person who is ignorant of their contents could ingenuously oppose "whiggery" to the "chartered rights of freemen," as the author of the *Tales* has done. If, in their reasoning on this subject, they made frequent appeals to the Bible, this is no more than our author has made Morton do, upon the very evident principle, that arguments drawn from this source are most level to the minds of the com-

assent unto such a wrong done to the rights and privileges of Parliament, contrary to the covenant." *Apologetical Relation*, (by Brown of Wamphray), pp. 257, 258. Printed anno 1665.

* Ibid. sect. x. xi. xix.

† Written by Mr James Stirling, minister of Paisley, and first printed in 1667.

‡ Written by Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees, (Lord Advocate after the Revolution,) and printed in 1669.

§ Printed in the year 1677.

mon people, and best adapted to satisfy conscience. It is no more than was common at that time among writers on government, and was afterwards practised by Sydney, Locke, and Hoadly. But they by no means confined themselves to such arguments; they freely appealed to the law of nature and nations, to the constitution and practice of free monarchies and republics in ancient and modern times, and to the authority of the best writers on politics and jurisprudence.

It is true that the Covenanters, in their apologies, grievances, and demands, gave a prominent and distinguished place to their ecclesiastical rights and privileges. And must they be blamed for doing this? They did so, because, much as they valued their civil rights, they prized their religious rights still more highly. They did so, because they considered it as more daring to invade, and more criminal to surrender, the privileges of "the kingdom of heaven," than the privileges of an earthly kingdom. They did so, because it was more immediately on the ground of religion, and of their adherence to their ecclesiastical liberties, that they were then suffering. And, in fine, they did so, because they were convinced that it was principally through these that their civil rights were struck at and endangered. The author of the *Tales* holds up the Covenanters to ridicule as narrow-minded bigots and fanatics, because they preached, and testified, and contended, with such zeal and keenness, against Episcopacy, Erastianism, and the Indulgence. But the ridicule must appear extremely futile, as soon as the subject is properly understood. We know that there are not a few who treat with in-

difference all questions relative to the external order and government of the church, and disparage all contentings about these as savouring of bigotry, and tending to draw away the minds of men from due attention to the essential and more momentous parts of religion. The words of the poet are always in the mouths of such persons :

“ For modes of government let fools contest,
Whate’er is best administered is best.”

Such maxims, whether they proceed from poets or pious men, and whether they be applied to the state or the church, are to be received with great caution, and are often urged with the most insidious design. If believed and acted upon, according to their native import, they would lead us to sacrifice and throw away privileges of the most valuable kind, which have been acquired or transmitted at the greatest expense. Who will say that the government of Turkey or Spain is equally good as that of Great Britain, and that there is the same reason to expect national happiness under the former as under the latter? If this be the case as to political government, much more must it hold with reference to that which is of an ecclesiastical nature. No external order, indeed, will infallibly secure the advancement of real and genuine religion ; but we are warranted from the reason of the thing, and from experience, to expect that the diffusion of knowledge, the preservation and transmission of truth, and the regular and profitable dispensation of all religious ordinances, will be more effectually provided for by one form of ecclesiastical polity than by others ; not to refer here to the determinations of Scrip-

ture, which has not left the government of the church to be constructed according to the capricious opinions of men, or to rest on the same general grounds with civil polity.

But this is not the view of the subject that we have chiefly in our eye at present. What we assert is, (and we make the assertion without the slightest fear of refutation) that, in opposing Prelacy, Erastianism, and the Indulgence, the Covenanters were standing up for the civil rights and political liberty of their country. Prelacy in Scotland was always combined and leagued with arbitrary power. The prelates, to use an expression of one of themselves, (Archbishop Gladstones) were *the king's creatures*; they derived their power entirely from him; they were supported by him in opposition to the inclinations of the nation; and they uniformly showed themselves disposed and ready to gratify his will, and to sacrifice to it the liberties and best interests of the people. What is Erastianism? Is it not the principle which ascribes the whole power of modelling and regulating the government of the church to civil rulers? Now, in Scotland this was declared to belong, not to the whole legislature, but to the crown, as one of its inherent and peculiar rights. The whole weight of this extensive branch of authority, and of the influence arising from it, was thus thrown into the regal scale. By Erastianism, prelacy was introduced, and by means of it the subserviency of the hierarchy to the crown was infallibly secured. The Indulgence was merely an excrescence of Erastianism, proceeding from the ecclesiastical supremacy, and exerted in suspending the existing laws. If it was in some in-

stances employed in suspending the execution of laws which were bad and oppressive, it was capable of being employed for setting aside all those which were good. And in the succeeding reign it *was* employed, in conjunction with the civil supremacy, as an engine for overthrowing the constitution in church and state, and for introducing Popery and despotism.

But are these merely our inferences from the subject? No; they were the views entertained by our ancestors, and by which they were animated in their opposition to these invasions of their ecclesiastical institution. We shall produce positive evidence of this. And first, with regard to prelacy: "These prelates, who make an absolute surrender of religion, conscience, and all sacred concerns, for the gratifying, and to the arbitrament of these powers, whose creatures they have often atheistically acknowledged themselves to be, do with the same and greater profusion subject both laws, liberties, and the fortunes of others, to the lust of the same powers, which they may so easily perfect unto their own establishment and advancement. And this indeed is, and hath always been, that great aggravation of our latter prelacy, rendering the same worse and more intolerable than the Romish hierarchy, which, being wholly dependent upon the Pope, another and distinct head, and not upon the civil power, whose interests are oftentimes not only distinct, but directly opposite, it hath neither that access nor influence to abuse princes; whereas our prelates, deriving all their power and being from the king's supremacy, by endeavouring, for their own better establishment, to render him incontrollably absolute over

and in all things, they being otherwise mean and abject persons, having the least, and almost no share nor interest in the commonwealth; and, by reason of their ill right and worse conscience in what they do possess, being always cruelly jealous, have, by sad experience, ever inclined the government unto tyranny.”* After having confirmed this by a reference to a variety of late acts and proceedings, this writer concludes: “To see a free nation, by the perfidy and insolent domineering of a few upstart prelates, and the violence of their wicked and slavish favourites, reduced to the condition of a most insupportable and unnatural conquest, both was, is, and ever will be, a most just cause and provocation to all ingenuous spirits and true patriots, to undertake the asserting of their own liberty, upon the greatest hazard.”† The same views came to be entertained by persons who had been attached to Episcopacy, as appears from the following extract of a letter from an independent individual, written at the time of the rising at Bothwell: “For me, you know how much, and how often I have contended for Episcopacy. But now I have considered their partial behaviour in the matter of Danby and the lords in the Tower, those arch enemies of our king and government, I see them both there and here so knit to the bias of the court, that they will rather sell their souls, and the whole interests of the kingdom, than not swing to that side right or wrong. I see them generally to be men altogether set upon their own profit and advancement, and that, when once they can make their

* Naphtali, pp. 174, 175, edit. 1680.

† Ibid. p. 178.

court well, they little mind religion or the care of souls. I see they take no effectual course for curbing of profanity, and that, if a man will but stand for their grandeur and revenues, they easily dispense with his being otherwise what he will. I see that almost any scandalous fellow that will own them, and hath but an M before his name, may have a kirk; too many whereof I know, and more here than with you. I have considered Bishop Sharp as their head and last introducer, whose reward hath been terrible in the justice of God, whatever the actors have been. And I have considered Bishop Paterson as the tail, whose reward is, no doubt, waiting him also, if he mend not his manners. I have not forgot their cruel, arrogant, and blood-thirsty stopping of his majesty's gracious bounty, and keeping up of his remission after the business of Pentland, which, with their torturing and hanging of the poor people, after quarters given them in the fields by General Dalziel, as it was a singular reward to him for his good services done them, so may it to all honest hearts be as palpable as it is an odd example of their faith and manners. I see the very offscourings of the earth employed by them, as their trustees and heroes, for propagating of their conformity; and some of them, though base all over, and despicable above all expression, yet owned and caressed by them as brave fellows, and chief promoters of their principles and interest; yea, so little choice make they on this head, whether as to profanity, Popery, Atheism, or what else you can think on, that for ought that appears, as many devils out of hell would be welcome to them to prop their Dagon of prelacy, and be a

seourge to the fanatics.”* In the same manner we find such of the Presbyterians as opposed the Indulgence reasoning. They condemned it as an assumption of ecclesiastical power, as an encroachment upon the liberties of the church, and a scheme to bring its ministers to a state of base and servile vassalage to the court. But they also condemned the acts of privy council which granted the Indulgence, as proceeding upon a dispensing power on the part of the crown. “The sole warrant of the king’s letter,” says Brown of Wamphray, “cannot in law warrant and empower them to contraveen express lawes and acts of parliament, and not only to disobey the injunctions of parliament, but in plain terms to counteract and counterwork the established and ratified laws, and so to render them null and of no effect. The very embracing of the indulgence was, upon the matter, a recognition of this power in the king to do, in and by his privy council, in church matters, what he pleased, even though contrary to antecedent acts of parliament.”† On such grounds many worthy ministers refused to take the benefit of the indulgence, although the liberty which it granted was nothing more than what they were entitled to, and exposed themselves to great hardships and persecutions, rather than recognise a usurped supremacy, and countenance an illegal exercise of royal authority,—conduct which merits the highest applause, instead of the censure which it has incurred.

These extracts, which might easily be multiplied, place

* Wodrow, vol. ii., Appen. pp. 18, 19.

† History of the Indulgence, p. 30, 31. Printed in 1678.

the conduct of the Covenanters in a very different point of view from that in which it is presented in many of our histories. They throw light upon the genuine import of the language which we find them so frequently using, and dissipate the ridicule which has been ignorantly attached to it. In testifying against Episcopacy and Erastianism, and in contending for Presbytery, the Covenants, and the Reformation established in pursuance of them, they were in fact appearing in behalf of the national rights and liberties, in opposition to tyrannical imposition and an arbitrary system of government, and not merely in support of certain principles of religious belief and ecclesiastical polity. Additional proofs of their attachment to the principles of rational liberty are at hand in great abundance. In refusing the illegal bonds and oaths that were imposed on them, they pleaded the laws of the land, and the rights of freemen.* In their personal appearances at the bar—in the testimonies which they composed in prison—and in the speeches which they delivered on the scaffold—we find them advancing the same plea.† In all the declarations published by the Cameronians, from the time that they separated from the rest of the Presbyterians till the Revolution, whatever we may find to condemn, we cannot but admire the ardent and invariable attachment which is expressed to political freedom.‡

As a specimen of the ardent and enthusiastic love of

* Wodrow, vol. i. Append, Nos. 82, 83.

† Naphtali, pp. 308, 311. Samson's Riddle, pp. 27, 29, 40. Testimony by Mr John Dick, pp. 4, 12.

‡ Informatory Vindication, *passim*.

civil liberty, combined with zeal for the Protestant religion, which inflamed the breasts of the Presbyterians, we cannot refrain from making the following quotation from a letter of a minister exiled in Holland. It was written by him in the end of 1679, upon his being informed of the flattering reception which the Duke of York met with on his arrival in Scotland. "I cannot hide it from you, that I would have been less troubled if I had heard that he had marched down to Scotland with an army made up of his English, French, and Irish Papists, and all the men of that kidney, soul, and complexion, which are associate to burn, slay, and destroy that poor church and nation, because of their declared detestation at his abominations and idolatry, to the erection whereof he resolves to sacrifice the lives of all the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ in the three kingdoms, and of the patriots of their country, who witness that they cannot outlive the departing of the glory, nor give up the interest of Christ, together with the liberty of the nation, to the lust of so publicly declared an enemy to both; than to have heard, that by this very deed, we have declared our abominable baseness, in the sight of God, angels, and men. Alas! whither have we not caused our shame to go? Alas! where is the Lord God of Elijah? Oh! where is the spirit of our noble ancestors, zealous for the Lord God of Hosts? —I shall not trouble you with the stories of all that horror, hatred, and shaking of head, wherewith this account is entertained abroad, amongst all that are so much Christians, as to give the just preference to religion, or so much men, as to love the liberty of their nation,—and would rather die in the quarrel ere they saw and suffered them-

selves to be robbed of that only precious treasure of religion, and together with that, to outlive the loss of their liberty—and so only to live—to breathe, as beasts, under the yoke of antichristian bondage; and at length breathe out their miserable lives, under the bitterness, anguish, and agony, arising from the reproachings of their own conscience, that they had been so much beasts, as to entail slavery on their posterity—and so go to the grave, as the most miserable catives, under the curse of the children not yet born. Nor shall I entertain you with the account of that just discountenance and disrespect, where-with he was entertained in the United Provinces, where he might have presumed and promised himself a great and predominant respect; in so much as, all the time he was there, the people were so incensed at him, as an enemy to pure religion and true liberty, that his name was not so much as put in the publick courants; lest, if it had, both pens and tongues had taken a just liberty and freedom, to regrade his having so much countenance or regard.

“And, by the way, what may the United Provinces think of us, when their courants shall be filled with the stories of this solemn and sumptuous reception, appointed for welcoming such a declared enemy to religion and liberty; as if he were, for his affection to both, the very darling and delight of the nation? Sure, they will bless themselves that they are not yet degenerate so far as we are; who, in this, seem to have forgotten we have souls, and are so much beasts, as, with the faces of men, we can bow our neck to the yoke of bondage, and glory in being so base. But it concerns us much more to think, and

seriously to weigh, what England will judge of the solemnity of this reception; when, from the one end of that nation to the other, their publick gazettes shall set before their eyes, our shame, and the matter of their grief and sorrow.—What shall these true patriots, who then withstood the court-contrivances, while under so many disadvantages, now think of us? What shall these nobles, who with so much greatness and grandure of spirit, did not only own the Protestant religion (while they saw the design discovered of destroying it) by displaying openly a banner for truth, in face of parliament; but were pleased, in high, heroick freedom, which will make them famous to posterity, to concern themselves, even in the preservation thereof in Scotland, France, and Ireland, as well as in England? I need not recite any part of that memorable discourse, wherein the noble speaker* carried rather as an ambassador of Jesus Christ, than a statesman, cast in the mould of carnal court politicians of this declining time.—I say, what judgment shall they give of us?†

The account which the author has given of the insurrection of the Covenanters is not correct. He represents them as having “broken out into actual rebellion,” previous to their being attacked by Claverhouse at Drumclog, and as having “declared their intention to remain together in arms for furthering the covenanted work of reformation.” (vol. ii. p. 300.) No resolution of that

* The Earl of Shaftsbury, in his Speech to the House of Lords, March 24, 1679. Wodrow's Hist. vol. ii. p. 22. Appendix, p. 3.

† M'Ward's *Εκαγώνισμος*, or Earnest Contendings for the Faith, pp. 332—334, 336.

nature, however, had been formed by them, nor was any thing of the kind expressed in their declaration published at Rutherglen.* For a considerable time previous to this, a number of those who attended field preachings, had been in the practice of carrying arms, to defend themselves and their brethren against straggling parties of soldiers who attacked the conventicles. In consequence of the violent measures lately adopted, the number of these had increased; and instead of assembling in small parties as they had formerly done, they drew together in larger bodies, with a view to greater safety. But still their object was merely to defend their religious assemblies, and to prevent those who attended them from being maltreated or massacred. It was after the encounter which they had with the corps under Claverhouse that they resolved to act in an offensive manner; and the dread of the severe revenge which the government would take, had no small influence in determining them to come to this resolution.† The present rising was therefore similar in its origin to that of Pentland; and government never discovered any trace of correspondence with England, or of previous concert and intended insurrection, on the part of the Covenanters.

We do not mention this circumstance because we judge it essential to the vindication of those, who, on the present occasion, took arms to defend themselves against intolerable oppression, and to assert their liberties. Their defence rests on more substantial grounds. It rests on

* Wodrow, ii. 44. Informatory Vindication, p. 171.

† Wodrow, ii. 47.

the same grounds as that of the resistance made by the Protestants in Germany, the Netherlands, and France, who were publicly aided by Elizabeth, James, and Charles I. If the Covenanters were chargeable with rebellion, it is impossible to vindicate these princes and their parliaments from the charge of fostering rebellion. We appeal not only to their practice, but also to their public declarations, in which they avowed the right of subjects to defend themselves against the oppression and tyranny of their native sovereigns. We appeal to the language held by James, whose ideas of royal prerogative were sufficiently high. "My reason of calling you together," says his Majesty in a letter to Dr Abbot, "was to give your judgment, how far a Christian and a Protestant king may concur to assist his neighbours to shake off their obedience to their own sovereigns, upon the account of oppression, tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late queen's time, this kingdom was very free in assisting the Hollanders both with arms and advice, and none of your coat ever told me that any scrupled about it in her reign. Upon my coming to England you may know, it came from some of yourselves to raise scruples about this matter; yet I never took any notice of these scruples, till the affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. I called my clergy together to satisfy, not so much me, as the world about us, of the justness of my owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not to have done, and you have forced me to say, I wish I had not."* In his speech to the parlia-

* The Bishop of Sarum's speech on the Impeachment of Dr Sacheverel.

ment that year, he had these words: "A king ceases to be a king, and degenerates into a tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to govern by law; in which the king's conscience may speak to him as the poor woman to Philip of Macedon, Either govern by law, or cease to be a king."* And, again, in his speech, anno 1609, "A king governing in a settled kingdome, ceaseth to be a king, and degenerateth into a tyrant, so soon as he leaveth to rule by his lawes, much more when he beginneth to invade his subjects persones, rights, and liberties, to set up an arbitrary power, impose unlawfull taxes, raise forces, and make warre upon his subjects, whom he should protect and rule in peace; to pillage, plunder, waste, and spoile his kingdom; imprison, murder, and destroy his people in a hostile manner, to captivat them to his pleasure." We can appeal to divines and dignitaries of the church of England, who have sanctioned the principles of resistance on which our ancestors acted—to Jewel, Hooker, Bilson, Bedel, Burnet, Hoadly, and King. But this is unnecessary, as the whole convocation, the church of England representative, in Elizabeth's reign, publicly acknowledged it "glorious to assist subjects in their resistance to their sovereigns, and their endeavours to rid themselves of their tyranny and oppressions."† And in 1628, when Charles I. resolved to assist the French Protestants, both Houses of Parliament petitioned his majesty to appoint a fast; and in the office of devotion com-

* The Bishop of Sarum's Speech on the Impeachment of Dr Sacheverel.

† Hoadly's Measures of Submission to the Civil Magistrate, p. 149.

posed for the occasion, the nation was directed to pray for all those "who, here or elsewhere, were fighting God's battles, and defending his altars."* In fine, their conduct was vindicated at the Revolution, when the parliament of Scotland, "in the prosecution of the *claim of right*," rescinded all the forfeitures and fines passed against those who had been in arms at Pentland and Bothwell, and pronounced them "void and null *from the beginning*." After mentioning a vast number of names, the act proceeds: "likeas, their majesties, and three estates, rehabilitate, reintegrate, and restore so many of the said persons as are living, and *the memory of them that are deceased*, their heirs, successors and posterity, to their goods, *fame*, and worldly honour."

* Acts Parl. I. William and Mary, July 4, 1690. Among the reasons for passing this act, the first is as follows:—"Because it is evident by his majesty's declaration, while Prince of Orange, for the kingdom of Scotland, that the oppressions and violent persecutions which these persons suffered, as well after as before their forfeiture, are there set down amongst the principal motives that induced his majesty to undertake for the relief of this kingdom." To the objection, that "to restore persons who were forfeited, for rising in arms upon necessary standing laws, and clear and evident probations, were to lay down the worst of preparations to encourage rebellions for the future," it is honestly and bluntly replied; "Can any man allege that the rescinding of forfeitures for these former insurrections can be a bad preparative to encourage insurrections for the future; but, at the same time, he must think that the late great Revolution may likewise be drawn into a far more mischievous consequence; a thought which certainly all honest men must abhor." Wodrow, vol. ii. Appendix, No. 159.

But though the unconcerted nature of the insurrection at Bothwell is not necessary to vindicate its lawfulness, yet it is of great consequence, as tending to account for the divisions which arose among the insurgents, and led to the complete failure of their enterprize. Had they taken up arms from previous concert, a plan would have been formed; proper leaders would have been chosen; and the grounds of their undertaking would have been agreed on and digested. As it was, the first measures were taken on the spur of the occasion; those who had been called to take the lead in the sudden affair of Drumclog, and who were probably elated with the unexpected victory that they had gained, considered themselves as entitled to retain their command, although some of them do not appear to have been the best qualified for it; and they proceeded to state the grounds of the quarrel according to their own views, without waiting the advice of their friends, who soon joined them from other parts of the country. Upon the arrival of the latter, a difference of opinion arose, which, in spite of all attempts to accommodate it, produced hot altercations, and issued in the most fatal disunion. The majority of the officers who commanded at Drumclog insisted, that the authority of the king should not be acknowledged, and that the acceptance of the indulgence should be condemned, in the manifesto which it had been resolved to publish. Both of these propositions were resisted by those who joined them, and were admitted to their council, before the battle of Bothwell.

The account which the author of the *Tales* has given of this dissension is very far from being correct. After

describing the officers of the covenanting army assembled in council in the darkest colours of his pencil, he proceeds to say:

“With them were mingled their preachers, men who had spurned at the indulgence offered by government, and preferred assembling their flocks in the wilderness, to worshipping in temples built by human hands, if their doing the latter could be construed to admit any right on the part of their rulers, to interfere with the supremacy of the Kirk. The other class of counsellors were such gentlemen of small fortune, and substantial farmers, as a sense of intolerable oppression had induced to take arms and join the insurgents. These also had their clergymen with them, who, *having many of them taken advantage of the indulgence*, were prepared to resist the measures of the more violent, who proposed a declaration in which they should give testimony against the warrants and instructions for indulgence, as sinful and unlawful acts.”

Now, the truth, we are persuaded, will turn out to be, that there was not one minister who had “taken advantage of the indulgence” in the camp of the Covenanters, from the battle of Drumclog down to that of Bothwell-bridge. In the royal proclamation against the rebels, fourteen ministers are mentioned, and Wilson gives the names of eighteen, as present.* Is the author able to point out one indulged minister among all these? We are convinced he is not. Yet, as if the matter had been quite unquestionable, he goes on to describe the contest between the indulged and non-indulged ministers with great minuteness, and in a manner which, we doubt not,

* Wodrow, vol. ii. Append. No. 30. Wilson’s Relation of the Battle of Bothwell-bridge, pp. 13, 15, edit. Glasg. 1797.

he thought, and still thinks, infinitely humorous. "Macbriar, Kettledrummle, and other teachers of the wanderers, being at the very spring-tide of polemical discussion with Peter Poundtext, the indulged pastor of Milnwood's parish, who, it seems, had e'en girded himself with a broadsword." The author could not be wrong; for "it was the din of this conflict, maintained *chiefly* between Poundtext and Kettledrummle, which saluted Morton's ears upon approaching the cottage;"—and "both the divines were well gifted with words and lungs, and each fierce, ardent, and intolerant in defence of his own doctrine, prompt in the recollection of texts wherewith they battered each other without mercy, and the noise of the debate betwixt them fell little short of that which might have attended an actual bodily conflict." This is fine; but there is something still more finished behind,—a description which proves our author to be a most accurate observer of nature, and which does not yield to the best comparisons in Homer. Burley, who, with all his fierceness, had a great deal more sense and moderation than the preachers, separated the combatants. "But although Kettledrummle and Poundtext were thus for the time silenced, they continued to eye each other like two dogs, who, having been separated by the authority of their masters while fighting, have retreated, each beneath the chair of his owner, still watching each other's motions, and indicating, by occasional growls, by the erected bristles of the back and ears, and by the red glance of the eye, that their discord is unappeased, and that they only wait the first opportunity afforded by any general movement or commotion

in the company, to fly once more at each other's throats." We "opine" that the time spent by the author in marking the attitudes, and looks, and growls, and bristles of his two dogs, and in committing them to memory and paper, might have been better employed in examining more exactly his historical authorities, printed and manuscript; unless some of our readers should be of opinion, that he would have been still better employed, if, instead of composing *Tales*, he had occupied his time in writing a *cunomachia*, to supply the loss of the *batrachomyomachia* of the Grecian bard.

We object seriously to this part of the author's representation, as conveying a false idea of the state of matters, as if the indulged ministers had actually joined in this enterprise. We have no doubt that many of them, if not the whole, wished it success, and that they might have taken part in it, provided it had been conducted to their mind. Some of them sent from Edinburgh the draught of a declaration of which they approved. It was conveyed by Mr Dunlop, afterwards Principal of the University of Glasgow, but not then a preacher, who was refused admission to the council of war; and none of his constituents ever made their appearance in the camp.* How then, it may be asked, did the Indulgence become the subject of dispute? We shall explain this in a few words. The question agitated, was not, whether the indulgence was lawful, but whether the acceptance of it should be expressly condemned in the proclamation to be made by those who were in arms. This was

* Wodrow, ii. 59.

opposed as improper and inexpedient, because it would hinder many from joining them who were cordial friends to presbytery, and it was proposed that the determination of this point should be reserved to a free General Assembly.* At the head of this opposition was Mr Welsh, who, instead of being an indulged minister, had been a zealous field preacher, and intercommuned for many years.† It was natural for those of his opinion to endeavour, in the course of reasoning on the subject, to moderate the severe censures which some of their brethren passed on the conduct of the indulged ministers, and to suggest such circumstances as tended to extenuate their compliance with it, from which the high party took occasion to accuse them of approving of the indulgence, and in their narratives of the controversy have designed them the Erastian party. Such is the language employed in Wilson's Relation, and in the manuscript written by Russel, one of the persons engaged in the assassination of the archbishop, by whose representations the author of the Tales has, we perceive, been chiefly guided. Both Russel and Wilson are also anxious to represent the ministers, King and Kid, as going along with the high party; but this does not agree with several circumstances mentioned in their own narratives, and it is flatly contradicted by the solemn declarations of these two ministers, from which it appears, that they expressly avowed the king's authority, and that, though

* Wodrow, p. 55, 57.

† Howie, while he condemns the part which Welsh acted at Bothwell, allows that he never approved of the Indulgence. Preface to Collection of Sermons, p. 5.

they disapproved of the Indulgence, they had recommended pacific measures.*

How then does the case stand? Of eighteen ministers who were in the camp, the high proposals were supported by two only, Cargill and Douglas; for Cameron, who afterwards gave his name to the party, was not then in the country. And they were opposed by sixteen. To speak the sentiments of the *two*, the author of the *Tales* has introduced *three* preachers, Macbriar, Kettledrummle, and Mucklewrath; and to express those of the *sixteen*, he has brought forward—*one*, the Reverend Peter Poundtext, the indulged pastor of Milnwood's parish! Such is the equal and impartial representation of our author! And in this manner has he thrown a dark shade over the proceedings of the Covenanters, and aggravated the charge of violence and folly which he brings against them, by imputing to the greater part what was in reality confined to a very few of their number.

Truth requires us to state farther, that the violent measures of disowning the royal authority, and excluding from the army all who had accepted of the Indulgence, appear to have originated with, and were chiefly urged, not by the preachers, but by certain private gentlemen in the camp. This appears from the accounts of both parties. Even Cargill and Douglas were pushed on to extreme courses, both on this and on subsequent occasions, which there is reason to think they would not have followed if they had been left to their own un-

* See the authorities adduced in a preceding part of this review, p. 127-130.

biassed judgment. We formerly signified that we considered Robert Hamilton as the chief person who urged these extremities. His rank as a gentleman (he was the brother of Sir William Hamilton of Preston) had procured his being called to the command of the small body of armed men who defeated Claverhouse at Drumlog. The success which attended that encounter, and the courage which he displayed in it, gave him great influence among those who had fought under him, and, without any election, he retained the place of general.* He was destitute of military experience; and, although honest and zealous in the cause, his views were contracted, and his temper uncomplying and overbearing. We find him and some of his fellow-officers uniformly opposing all the moderate measures which were proposed.

We now proceed to notice the charges brought against the Covenanters on the head of sanguinary principles and practices. The statements which we have made will enable our readers to form a judgment of these. Though we should allow them to be accurately stated, and free from exaggeration, still they are applicable only to a small part of the Covenanters. The assassination of Archbishop Sharp affords one of the most common topics of declamation. But the author of the *Tales* has himself allowed, that "the greater part of the Presbyterians disowned the deed, as a crime highly culpable, although they admitted, that the Archbishop's

* Mr Laing has strangely conceived that Hamilton was "a preacher," and proceeding upon this misconception, he talks of the "ghostly commanders" of the covenanting army. *History*, vol. ii. p. 93.

punishment had by no means exceeded his deserts." (vol. iii. p. 161.) We must beware of thinking that all those who, when interrogated by military men or judges, refused to pronounce the Bishop's death murder, justified or approved of his assassination. Such illegal and arbitrary questions were resisted by them as an infringement of their liberties, inconsistent with the principles of justice, and obliging them judicially to disclose their private sentiments, and to pronounce sentence on the conduct of others.* Even Morton refused to answer the question when it was first put to him by sergeant Bothwell; and in his conversation with Burley on this subject, he says, "But it is not mine to judge you. I have not forgotten that the way was opened to the former liberation of Scotland, by an action of violence which no man can justify,—the slaughter of Cumming, by the hand of Robert Bruce; and, therefore, condemning this action as I do and must, I am not unwilling to suppose that you have motives vindicating it in your eye, though not to mine, or to those of sober reason." (vol. iii. p. 170.) The circumstance of the murderers of the Archbishop having joined the insurgents, has been urged as reflecting discredit on the cause. But it is a curious fact, that down to the battle of Bothwell, it was not generally known that they were in the camp, and Mr King, one of the ministers present, was ignorant that Burley and Rathillet were accessory to that crime.†

* See an account of a curious conversation which Frazer of Brae had with Charles II. Wodrow, ii. 288.

† Wodrow, ii. 43, 86.

This shows how much we should be on our guard against substituting presumptions and probabilities for proof in historical matters.

Morton expresses his fears of a departure from the ordinary laws of war, by refusing to give quarter to the enemy. There was some ground for this; and we shall candidly state the facts from a letter of Hamilton, the person mainly implicated in the charge. "As for that accusation they bring against me," says he, "of killing that poor man (as they call him) at Drumclog;—I being called to command that day, gave out the word that no quarter should be given; and returning from pursuing Claverhouse, one or two of these fellows were standing in the midst of a company of our friends, and some were debating for quarters, others against it. None could blame me to decide the controversy, and I bless the Lord for it to this day. There were five more that without my knowledge got quarters, who were brought to me after we were a mile from the place, as having got quarters, which I reckoned among the first steppings aside."* Judging from this account, Hamilton alone was responsible for this step. He takes the whole blame, or rather, as he viewed it, the whole praise to himself. It does not appear that he consulted with a single individual before giving the word; his men testified an aversion to act upon it; and in spite of his command, and his example, the lives of prisoners were preserved. It should also be noticed, that Claverhouse

* Howie's Faithful Contendings, p. 201.

is said to have issued the same orders before the battle commenced.*

After the defeat at Bothwell, those called *Cameroni-ans*, or *Society-People*, were completely separated from the rest of the Presbyterians, both indulged and non-indulged, in religious communion, and in political managements. We shall advert briefly to such of their proceedings as have been deemed most unjustifiable. In the *Sanquhar Declaration*, published June 22, 1680, they, "as the representatives of the true Presbyterian kirk and covenanted nation of Scotland," did "disown Charles Stuart as having any right, title to, or interest in the said crown of Scotland," which he had forfeited "by his perjury and usurpation in church matters, and tyranny in matters civil;" and they did "declare war against him as a "tyrant and usurper," and against all the abettors of his tyranny.† About the same time a paper was found on one of them, usually called the *Queensferry Paper*, which was published by government, and occasioned a great outcry against the whole party. It contained, among other articles, a resolution against monarchical government, as "aptest to degenerate into tyranny;" but it was not subscribed, and was never owned by the society.‡ The *Lanark Declaration*, published January 12, 1682, was intended to state more at large the grounds of that of Sanquhar. This contains a striking description of the oppressions of the

* Wilson's Relation, p. 8.

† Wodrow, vol. ii. Appendix, No. 47.

‡ Wodrow, vol. ii. Appendix, No. 46.

government, and a forcible appeal to the public on the necessity which the sufferers were laid under to adopt the measure which they had taken.*

But the most singular paper, and that which made the greatest noise, was published by them in October 1684, under the name of *The Apologetick Declaration and Admonitory Vindication, anent Intelligencers and Informers*. After mentioning their renunciation of the authority of Charles, and their declaration of war against him and his accomplices, it runs in the following terms: "That therein our mind may be understood, and for preventing further mistakes anent our purposes, we do hereby jointly and unanimously testify and declare, that, as we utterly detest and abhor that hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment or persuasion from us, it having no bottom upon the word of God or right reason; so we look upon it as a duty binding upon us to publish openly unto the world, that, for as much as we are really purposed not to injure or offend any whomsoever, but to pursue the ends of our covenants, in standing to the defence of our glorious work of reformation, and of our own lives; yet (we say) We do hereby declare unto all, that whosoever stretch forth their hands against us, while we are maintaining the cause and interest of Christ against his enemies, in defence of our covenanted religion, by shedding our blood actualle, either by authoritative commanding, such as bloodie councillors, (bloodie, we say, intimating clearlie by this and the other adjective epithets, an open distinction be-

* *Informatory Vindication*, p. 176.

twixt the cruel and blood thirstie, and the more so be and moderate), especially that, so called, justiciary, general of forces, adjutants, captains, lieutenants; and all in civil and military powers, who make it their work to embrue their hands in our blood; or by obeying such commands, such as bloodie militia men, malicious troopers, soldiers, and dragoons; likewise such gentlemen and commons, who, through wickedness and ill will, ride and run with the foresaid persons to lay search for us; or who deliver up any of us into their hands to the spilling of our blood; by inticing morally, or stirring up enemies to the taking away of our lives; such as designedly and purposely advise, counsell, and incourage them to proceed against us to our utmost extirpation, by informing against us wickedly, and wittingly, such as viperous and malicious bishops and curats, and all such sort of intelligencers, who lay out themselves to the effusion of our blood, together with all such as, in obedience to the enemies their commands, at the sight of us, raise the *hue and cry* after us; yea, and against all such, as compearing before the adversaries their courts upon their demand, delate us and any who befriend us, to their and our extream hazard and suffering: We say all and every one of such shall be reputed enemies o God and the covenanted work of reformation, and punished as such according to our power and the degree of their offence, chiefly if they shall continue after the publication of this our declaration, obstinately and habitually, with malice to proceed against us any of the foresaid ways."—"We are sorry at our very hearts, that any of you should choose such courses, either with

bloody *Doeg* to shed our blood, or with the flattering *Ziphites* to inform persecutors where we are to be found. So we say again, we desire you to take warning of the hazard that ye incur by following such courses; for the sinless necessity of self-preservation, accompanied with holy zeal for Christ's reigning in our land, and suppressing of profanity, will move us not to let you pass unpunished. Call to your remembrance, All that is in peril is not lost, and all that is delayed is not forgiven. Therefore expect to be dealt with as ye deal with us, so far as our power can reach; not because we are acted by a sinful spirit of revenge for private and personal injuries, but mainly because, by our fall, reformation suffers damage," &c.*

It is impossible to read these extracts without strong emotions of a mingled kind. The first feeling that must rise, in every ingenuous breast, is indignation at the government, which, by its tyrannical and cruel conduct, had driven a sober and religious people to such extremities. We cannot but condemn the step taken by the sufferers, as calculated, notwithstanding all their qualifications, and in spite of all the precautions they might use, to open a door to lawless bloodshed, and to give encouragement to assassination. At the same time, it is impossible to condemn them with great severity, when we reflect that they were cast out of the protection of law, driven out of the pale of society, and hunted like wild beasts, in the woods and on the mountains to which they had fled for shelter. It is impossible not to recognise the

* *Informatory Vindication*, pp. 186—188, 159, 160.

honesty of their intentions, to perceive the reluctance with which they took this delicate step, and to be convinced that they had no desire to defile their hands with the blood even of their persecutors, but aimed principally at impressing their minds with a wholesome terror. This end was in some measure gained; informers were terrified, and the persecution slackened for some time after the publication.* The only instances in which it is alleged, as far as we recollect, that it led to murder, were those of two soldiers at Swine-Abbey, and of the curate at Carsphairn. The last of these was publicly disowned and condemned by the Society-People.†

Finding that several expressions in their declarations were misrepresented, and that others were expressed in a dubious or exceptionable form, the general meeting of the Society-People published their *Informatory Vindication*. In this document, although there are positions advanced which are not strictly consistent, nor are defensible upon the common principles of Presbyterians, yet a spirit of candour and moderation is displayed. "If in any thing (say the authors of it) we have in the manner of managing affairs in reference to the public cause, through ignorance or imprudence, jointly miscarried, having good designs, and the thing not attended with obstinacy, our weakness and insufficiency, in the abounding confusions of these preceding times, (our faithful guides and men of understanding, by death and otherwise, being removed),

* Wodrow, ii. 430. Howie, *Faithful Contendings*, p. 155.

† Wodrow, ii. 467. *Renovation of Covenants at Lesmahago*, p. 61.

should be compassionately looked upon, and tenderly handled." They state that they were not to be understood as claiming, in the Sanquhar and Lanark Declarations, the character of formal representatives of the nation, and that in disowning Charles II. they did not proceed judicially and authoritatively, but merely declared their own private judgment, refusing to own him as standing in a magistratical relation to them. Their declaration of martial war they explained as directed solely against the tyrant and those under his authority who bore arms against them; and as to such as did "any way strengthen, side with, or acknowledge the said tyrant, or any other, in the like tyranny and usurpation, civil or ecclesiastical," they declared that they would oppose them, not with arms, but by their profession, practice, and testimony." They add, "We positively disown, as horrid murder, the killing of any, because of a different persuasion or opinion from us."* About the same period, they abolished the *oath of secrecy* which they had for some time used in their societies.†

Let it be remembered, that the proceedings which we have detailed took place subsequently to the battle of Bothwell, when the feelings of the Covenanters had been irritated and inflamed by a continued series of shocking and brutal barbarities. At the period referred to in the Tale of Old Mortality, their minds were in a very different state. But we shall grant, that the author was at liberty, in forming his likenesses, to take into view the

* *Infermatory Vindication*, pp. 63—68.

† *Howie, ut supra*, p. 104.

character of the objects of persecution after, as well as before, the affair of Bothwell. We appeal, then, to every impartial and intelligent person, if there was any thing in the conduct of the Society-People to warrant the representations which he has given. Where are the ruffians and the madmen whom Burley and Mucklewrath resemble? Where is the transaction that bears the most distant resemblance to the horrid scene at Drumshinnel! Where are the principles that, by the help of the utmost ingenuity, can be tortured into such a construction as to favour that atrocious attempt? And what person of candour and of judgment can allege, that those who "positively disowned, as horrid murder, the killing of any because of a different persuasion and opinion from them," would have conspired to take away the life of such a person as Morton? We have read of a painter, known by the appellation of *Hellish Brueghell*, who accustomed himself so much to painting witches, imps, and devils, that he sometimes made but little difference between his human and his infernal figures. The best apology we can make for our author is, that having been much habituated to the describing of moss-troopers, misanthropes, gypsies, and other beings of a savage or unnatural kind, he has been insensibly led to impart the qualities, so familiar to his mind, to the principal characters in the present work.

We are persuaded we shall give pleasure to our readers by laying before them the following manly and liberal reflections of a living author on the transactions which we have been considering. "In the midst of the fiery furnace of persecution, (says the eloquent Dr Charters, in

a sermon now published a second time), men appeared assuming the high character of witnesses for God, and maintaining it in the face of danger and death. Though few in number, like the gleaners of grapes after the vintage, and a few berries on the top of the outermost bough, they lifted up the standard of religious liberty, and generously devoted themselves.—They would swear no oaths, subscribe no bonds, take no tests, nor yield to any imposition on conscience.—They would not pray for the king, because that might be constructed as owning a title which in their judgment he had forfeited; and they resolved, whatever it might cost, to be ingenuous and open, decisive and unembarrassed, both in word and in deed. ‘They published a seditious declaration, renouncing allegiance to Charles Stewart, whom they called, as they for their parts had indeed some reason to esteem him, a tyrant.’* They testified against all the arbitrary persecuting acts of Charles, and published acts of their own, disowning the king, excluding the Duke of York, and declaring war in defence of their religion and of their lives. The avowal of disaffection was the signal of death, and by means of mercenary spies and traitors, many of them were seized and executed. They denounced vengeance on the spies, admonishing both the bloody Doegs and flattering Ziphites to remember, ‘All that is in peril is not lost, and all that is delayed is not forgiven.’ The coward race were appalled by a threatening that came from men without falsehood and without fear. Their bold example attracted congenial spirits, and, like

* Hume’s History.

the Israelites in Egypt, the more they were afflicted, the more they grew and multiplied. They formed into societies, and settled the ground and nature of their testimony. A love of liberty they considered as the national character, which it was their duty to maintain and transmit. A defensive war against tyranny they justified by the law of nature, and by precepts and doctrines in the Bible.—To those who objected that their testimony was unexampled, they answered, the tyranny of the times is also without example: former examples arose from the state of things which produced them; the present singular state of things demands a new example to after ages. Tyrants formerly used force, but they now demand an explicit owning of arbitrary power: the limitations of kingly power is a question which they compel us to decide; and our example may instruct and animate posterity. Such were the principles of those whom Wodrow calls *Society-People*, from the religious societies into which they were formed, and who, from the names of two of their leaders, were likewise called Cameronians and Cargillites. If in some instances they run to extremes, Solomon's saying will be remembered, *Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad*. Their standard on the mountains of Scotland indicated to the vigilant eye of William that the nation was ripening for a change. They expressed what others thought, uttering the indignation and the groans of a spirited and oppressed people. They investigated and taught under the guidance of feeling, the reciprocal obligations of kings and subjects, the duty of self-defence and of resisting tyrants, the generous principle of assisting the oppressed.

or, in their language, *helping the Lord against the mighty*. These subjects, which have been investigated by philosophers in the closet, and adorned with eloquence in the senate, were then illustrated by men of feeling in the field. While Lord Russel and Sydney, and other enlightened patriots in England, were plotting against Charles, from a conviction that his right was forfeited, the Cameronians in Scotland, under the same conviction, had the courage to declare war against him. Both the plotters and the warriors fell; but their blood watered the plant of renown, and succeeding ages have eaten the pleasant fruit."*

There are in the Tale of Old Mortality, beside what we have considered, several things which are deserving of reprehension. But we chose to enter into a particular examination of a few of its mis-statements, rather than indulge in reflections upon the whole, which behoved to have been general, and consequently less satisfactory. The charges of indulging in fraud and rapine, and hypocritically concealing mercenary and selfish designs under the cloak of zeal for religion, and of employing a jesuitical and wretched casuistry to vindicate such practices, which are laid in such a manner as to apply to the party at large, we deem so devoid of foundation in history, and so contrary to the known character of the Covenanters, as to be utterly unworthy of serious refutation. The allegation that they were of the same persecuting spirit as their adversaries, is, we are convinced, utterly unfounded; and we intended to have shown at some length,

* Charter's Sermons, pp. 273, 274, 275, 277, edit. 1816.

that their conduct after the Revolution was highly commendable, considering the sufferings they had endured; and that the charges of intolerance and persecution brought against some of their proceedings are founded in a great degree upon ignorance of the circumstances in which they were placed, and of the measures which they opposed. But this discussion we must wave, as it is high time to bring the review to a close.

We flatter ourselves that we have satisfactorily established the two leading positions that we advanced at the beginning of the review—the gross partiality which the author has shown to the persecutors of the Presbyterians, and the injustice which he has done to the objects of persecution. We have produced undeniable proofs of the former, in his withholding a just view of the severities and cruelties which they perpetrated, softening them in the representations which he has given, and exhibiting the character of some of the chief oppressors in such a light as to recommend them to the admiration of his readers. We have examined his representation of the Presbyterians or Covenanters, and have found it, in numerous instances, to be unfair, false, and grossly exaggerated. Instead of being the ignorant, foolish, and violent fanatics which he has held them out to be, we have shown that information was extensively diffused among them; that they were a sober and religious people; that their contendings and sufferings were directed to the support of the kindred cause of religion and liberty; and that the instances of extravagance and violence really committed, were confined to a few, and extorted by grievous and insufferable oppression. We have also shown that the work

is disfigured with profaneness, and that the author has used freedoms with religion, and the sacred language of the Scriptures, unjustifiable in any book, but altogether inexcusable in one that is intended for popular amusement. These faults we have exposed with freedom, and sometimes with feelings of indignation, but, we trust, without passion or irritation, and without the slightest wish to lower the talents or the fame of the author, farther than was unavoidable in doing justice to the cause which we were bound to advocate, and to the memory of the men who suffered in its defence. We look on the work which we have reviewed as calculated to produce mischievous effects, by circulating erroneous views of the history of our country, and by instilling bad principles into the minds of the ignorant and unwary. The fictitious form in which it is composed, we consider as serving to aggravate instead of extenuating the offence. To sober statement and argumentative discussion upon any period of our history, or on the merits of those who acted a part in it, from whatever party these may proceed, we have no objection. But it appears to us that there is something extremely presumptuous and assuming in the very attempt to select the characters and proceedings described in this Tale as a subject for ridicule and burlesque; as if, in the opinion of sensible men of all parties, they were completely indefensible, and as if the truth of the facts which the author has brought forward, and the view which he has taken of them, were already placed beyond all reasonable doubt or contradiction. We trust, however, that the good sense of our countrymen, the information which they possess, and the regard which they

still cherish to the cause of religion and freedom, will counteract the poison; and we are not without hopes, that this attempt may ultimately benefit the cause which it threatened to injure—by exciting more general attention to the subject, and by inducing persons to inquire more accurately into the facts of one of the most interesting portions of our national history.

THE END.

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